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THE REDUNDANT AND THE DEFICIENT IN VEDIC RITUAL

J. GONDA

The contrast between what is normal, ordinary, natural, predictable and capable of being understood or explained on the one hand and what is abnormal, extraordinary, supernatural and inexplicable on the other must have impressed our remote ancestors from old. Since for 'primitive' thought properties of objects and qualities of living beings were separable and transmissible, even the mere proximity of something abnormal was often believed to result in the emanation or transmission of unwanted, inauspicious, or detrimental power. Objects, animals, human beings that in any way were abnormal or acted abnormally or inexplicably were not infrequently supposed to be dangerous or to exert a destructive influence. Whatever filled man with wonder or provoked emotional reactions such as fear, awe or avoidance was suspect and apt to bring about undesirable effects. Among the abnormal were not only ominous and marvellous events, interruptions of normal procedures, disturbances, cases of nonconformity, deformities in infants and adult persons but also any deficiencies and superfluities (cf., e.g., ŚBr. 9, 5, 2, 3 ; 10, 1, 3, 8). Deformities in human beings are regarded as portentous (ŚBr. 5, 11, 2 ; AVPar. 71, 6, 4) and may, to mention only this, point to their sinfulness in a former existence : the man who has a limb too little or too much (*aṅgahinaḥ*, *atiriktāṅgaḥ*) has been a stealer or spoiler of grain (ViDhS. 45, 9 f.). The redundant and defective¹ contrast not only with what is complete (e.g. ŚB. 10, 1, 3, 8) but also with what is right or done in the right way : "the rite of four days is incomplete, that of six days redundant, the correct sacrifice is the rite of five days" (TS. 7, 1, 10, 3 ; see also VādhŚr. 4, 26 d). Anything superfluous or remaining unused, anything deficient, any deformity, any living being misshapen may cause suspicion and be hold to bear or transmit uncanny power. Brahmins with a limb too little or too much should not be invited

1. In building the great fireplace one should not use a broken brick, for this will turn out a failure (ŚBr. 8, 7, 2, 16).

to a *ball* to the deceased (*mṛtabali*, AgnGr. 3, 11, 1) or other religious ceremonies (GBr. 2, 2, 5). If in the solemn ritual of Vedic India any mantra or any act has been omitted during the performance of a rite, or if something been done in excess one should execute a rite of atonement².

This belief in the dangerous character of anything abnormal or unusual explains a considerable variety of instructions and admonitions in the ritual literature of the ancients. Not infrequently, the motive of an instruction or statement, viz. the underlying fear of the abnormal, is not definitely expressed, no doubt because it is too well known to the 'reader' or because the author wished to avoid an explicit reference to something unpropitious. But this does not always prevent him from emphatically warning his audience of the consequences of redundancies or deficiencies. For instance, the prelude should in the solemn ritual be performed by the chief-chanter (*udgātar*) himself, who "would cause (the performance) to be in excess (*atirecayet*), were another to chant; he would cause an excess, were another to join in it; he would cause an excess, were another to overhear it" (ŚBr. 4, 6, 9, 17)³. Hence also the great care bestowed upon the prevention of abnormal or extraordinary events, phenomena or activities and upon the performance of rites to avert or expiate them⁴.

Since rites are formal acts believed to have intrinsic validity without as a rule being technically related to immediate purposes, ritual lapses are very often believed to endanger the well-being of the sacrificer and his family or cattle or to entail other serious consequences.

In *rebus sacris* one should, therefore, neither overdo nor be remiss in one's duties, neither perform superabundant acts nor fail in

2. See W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brahmaṇa*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 63 (note on PBr. 4, 8, 8).

3. L. Renou, *Chagaleya Upaniṣad*, Paris, 1959 translating *vaco recayisyatha* and referring to this place prefers "vous rendez vaine la parole".

4. In the following pages it will, without aiming at anything like completeness, be first and foremost my endeavour to survey the relevant uses of the verb *ati vric* and its derivatives, and of the adjective *nyūna*. It is nevertheless of some interest to notice that in connexion with a person who does not drink soma in order to drive away misfortune SVBr., 3, 1, 5 uses the same verb (with soma as the subject) in the sense of "pass by, pass over".

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observing the rules perfectly. If a mantra is not duly pronounced, a rite not properly performed, a gift to the officiants (*dakṣiṇā*) not offered in the prescribed manner, an expiatory rite not executed in time, the sacrifice is imperfect and invalidated (cf. GBr. 2, 2, 5). At the end of an exposition of the excellence and effectiveness of a rite of five days' duration the author of TS. 7, 1, 10, 3 elaborately emphasizes that this is the correct sacrifice : "the (sacrifice) of four days is incomplete (unfit and therefore unsuccessful, *anāptaḥ*), the (sacrifice) of six days is redundant ; this sacrifice of five days is certainly in the right way (i.e. right, correct, *samprati*) ; the one who, knowing thus, worships with the (sacrifice) of five days sacrifices with the correct sacrifice"⁵.—In a similar passage in VādhS. 4, 26 d it is related that when the metres tried to follow a certain deity some of them went beyond (*atyaricyanta*) it, others did not reach it ; the *bṛhatī* was the only one that touched it correctly (*samprati*)—. Parallels between what is ritually correct and profitable and what in daily life is known from experience are often drawn in order to inculcate the doctrine of ritual exactitude. "Whatever (part) of the semen exceeds the vulva is lost (i.e. useless, *amuya bhavati*), and what is deficient (*nyūnam*) is unsuccessful (*vyṛddham*) ; but that (part) of the semen is successful which fills (the vulva) to the orifice"⁶ (ŚBr. 6, 3, 3, 26) ; this being so, it should be understood that a lump of clay to be used in building the great fireplace should be exactly as large as a definite hole.

Mention may be made also of BŚr. 4, 4 : 114, 15. When the *adhvaryu* who is to perform an animal sacrifice is at work upon the erection of the sacrificial post he not only rams earth firmly round its bottom (see also BhŚr. 7, 8, 14 ; ĀpŚr. 7, 10, 12), but also puts or spreads that "which is not too little and not superfluous" round it. That means that he spreads just enough earth round the post to make good the damage done to the surface of the soil. Likewise 6, 27 : 189, 7.

The sacrificial post (*yupa*) should be erected exactly "in the place of the boundary line of the end of the sacrificial bank" (*vedyantasya saṁdhau*) so that the sacrificer will win the world of

5. Cf. also MS. 3, 6, 8 : 71, 13 ; KapS. 36, 2 : 188, 22 ; as well as TBr. 3, 2, 2, 5 ; KŚr. 1, 8, 47.

6. As to *samanibilam* cf. KS. 17, 1, 19 ; 21.

the gods—the result of the erection within the *vedi*—and that of men, which is gained when the stake is set up outside the *vedi* (TS. 6, 6, 4, 1). Another explanation of the significance of this place is found at KS. 29, 8 : 177, 7 : one should set up the *yūpa* (which is homologized to the sacrificer) neither outside the *vedi* (which is assumed to extend as far as the earth), lest one should exclude the sacrificer from the earth, nor make it leave (part of the *vedi* between itself and the edge) as surplus (unoccupied)⁷, lest one should leave the (sacrificer's sphere (*loka*) to his rival⁸.

Also from places such as ŚBr. 10, 3, 3, 13 it appears how much these ideas engaged the attention of the ritualists : after enumerating the parts of the great fireplace which is considered to be a body and their metres and deities—e.g. § 1 “the *gayatrī* and Agni are its head”—the metre of the stanza that wants (a) syllable(s) are said to be its defective part, the deity the Waters its redundant parts.

Rites have to answer to an ideal norm or recognized model meticulously described in the manuals. Thus the sacrifices of full and new moon, and the unbloody sacrifices generally, require the performance of ten oblations (five fore-offerings etc. ; ŚBr. 11, 1, 2, 2). Then they are in numerical congruence (*sampad*) with the air which in man is divided into ten parts and with the ten-syllabled *virāj* metre⁹ (§ 3). There may, however, be one, two, three or four surplus or additional (*atirikta*) oblations (§ 5 ff.) ; one and four for Prajāpati who is the Totality and the fourth beyond the threefold universe, two because they form a productive pair and three because they represent a productive pair and what is born or produced. There

7. This must, I suppose, be the meaning of *vedyā atirecayet*. On the *yūpa* see, e.g., KŚr. 6, 1, 4 ff.; BhŚr. 7, 2, 6 ff.; ApŚr. 7, 1 ff. ; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, Poona, 1941, p. 1110 ff.

8. See p. 10, lines 25-26 of this paper.

9. Identified with the *virāj*, the sum of all existence or hypostatization of the conception of the universe as a whole, an intermediate between the *primaeva* Puruṣa and evolved Puruṣa of RV. 10, 90 (cf. ŚBr. 13, 6, 1, 1 ff.) ; see J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht, 1954 (New Delhi, 1969), p. 67 etc. For the *virāj* as a unit used in counting see, e.g., TS. 7, 4, 10, 2 and 7, 4, 11, 2 where the *stomas* being chanted together are said to make up the *virāj*, i.e. a multiple of ten, two stanzas being redundant (*atiricyete*). A *stoma* that consists of nine stanzas is something *nyūnam*, because as compared with the *virāj* it has one syllable short (JBr. 2, 81 ; 83). See also PBr. 19, 3, 9 ; 19, 11, 10 ; 20, 1, 5.

may, on the other hand, also be nine oblations, because from the defective (*nyūnam*) creatures are produced¹⁰ (§ 4). But a sacrifice that is deficient in two oblations or excessive in respect of five oblations is indeed defective or excessive ; it is not a sacrifice (§ 9).—KS. 33, 2 : 27, 15 argues that the *jyotiṣṭoma*, the principal and beginning of the *stomas*, is congruent with the *virāj*—it comprises 190 stanzas (PBr. 16, 1, 8)—, that the *goṣṭoma* has one more stanza viz. (more than the *virāj* ; it has 241 stanzas, PBr. 16, 2, 8), and the *āyuhṣṭoma* has one stanza less (viz. than the *virāj* ; it has 259 syllables, PBr. 16, 3, 4 ; 6) ; if these two are performed together, they are congruent with the *virāj*. Thus the sacrificer is firmly established in the *virāj* which is the world of heaven.¹¹ The author of JBr. 1, 237 uses the term *agniṣṭomasampad* denoting the equation of the *agniṣṭoma* (with 190 stanzas) with nine *stomas* of 21 stanzas or 21 *trivṛt stomas* of nine stanzas each ; in both cases one stanza remains, which is homologized to the sacrificer or with the one who knows thus (1, 240).¹²

In ritual practice this numerical congruence and exactitude in observing rules and limits or periods of time are most important. Were the patron who has the great fireplace built to be initiated during less than a year, he would not create enough space for the bricks that are to be used ; “the bricks would exceed (*atiricyeran*) the spaces”. If he were to make the period of his initiation longer than a year, he would provide more space than his supply of bricks would fill up ; “the spaces would exceed the bricks”. Only when the period of initiation lasts for exactly a year, “he piles up as many bricks as he makes space for”. This means by implication, that only then does he acquire an adequate place in the world which he is making for himself (ŚBr. 6, 2, 2, 28). Notice the tripartite structure of the argumentation.

In view of their predilection for numerical argumentation it may be taken for granted that already at an early date some Indian authors were almost fascinated by the ideas under discussion.

10. See p. 31 ff. of this paper.

11. See also KBr. 33, 4 ; 29, 22.

12. See also JBr. 1, 242 f., tr. by W. Caland, *Das Jaiminiya-Brahmana in Auswahl*, Amsterdam Acad. 1919, p. 95 f. and cf. GBr. 1, 5, 1 ; KS. 34, 1 ; 35, 10.

After having dwelt on concepts and phenomena that occur in twos, threes etc. the poet of AVŚ. 8, 9, 17 (AVP. 16, 19, 7), mentions the six cold and the six hot months and thereupon enumerates seven poets, metres etc., then to ask after the season (*ṛtu*) that is in excess (*atiriktaḥ*; cf. AVŚ. 26; AVP. 16, 20, 4). Now, the number of seasons is sometimes (ŚBr. 5, 2, 1, 4 etc.) six, sometimes (6, 6, 1, 14 etc.) seven. At TS. 6, 6, 11, 5 six syllables are intentionally made redundant in order to propitiate the seasons.—A similar observation may be made in connexion with the widespread Indian custom to distinguish three classes, species, kinds of almost anything. In classifying vegetable material fit for sacrificing VaikhŚr. 11, 11 makes mention of the best, mean and inferior quality, according as the measures correspond to the ringfinger, little finger or are *nyūna*.

Another important principle accepted and propagated by the ritualists as the fundamental ground for a considerable variety of rules and directions is that of congruence or agreement. The different elements, phases, aspects of a rite should be in agreement or in harmony with one another, just as in social relations agreement and conformity are eagerly sought for and eccentricity is as much feared as disharmony among the parts of the universe and abnormality in the phenomena of nature. For instance, there should exist complete congruence between the *sāman* and the *ṛc* stanzas: one should not make one of these redundant (JBr. 1, 127). Not infrequently this principle combines or coalesces with that of numerical congruence: the omentum consists of five portions because the sacrificial animal is fivefold etc. (ŚBr. 11, 7, 4, 4). One should purchase the soma stalks with a ruddy, yellow-eyed cow, because this is the outward appearance of Soma; “verily one buys the soma with its own deity” (TS. 6, 1, 6, 7). Rejecting, in a discussion of the buying of the stalks, other cows, the author of KS. 24, 1: 89, 14 expresses the opinion that a cow with red-tipped ears¹³ is only fit for buying a definite soma vessel called *ṣoḍaśin*, which is used when the additional cup of soma (*ṣoḍaśigraha*) is to be offered (see e.g. ĀpŚr. 12, 2, 6; 14, 2, 2 ff.; 14, 3, 8), because “this colour is the remaining or superfluous (*atiriktam*) of colours,

13. If this is the sense of *adhilodhakarnā*, variants of which are *adhirūḍhakarnāḥ* (MS. 2, 6, 13: 72, 12), *addhyālohakarnāḥ* (VS. 24, 4, translated “red-eared” by R. T. H. Griffith, *The Texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares, 1927, p. 259).

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the *ṣoḍaśin* is additional (*atiriktaḥ*), and (thus) one obtains the *atiriktam* by means of the (*atiriktaṁ*)”¹⁴. “Having obtained (i.e. made good) the redundant by the redundant they check or restrain it for their own benefit and so gain it” (*avarundhate*, TS. 7, 5, 5, 2): then the harmony is restored.—A similar result is attained when a priest officiating for some person who has been excluded from his status or from his community (*niruddhaḥ*) offers an oblation on thirteen pieces of pottery to Indra, because both the number thirteen and the *niruddhaḥ* person are superfluous (*atirikta*); after having obtained the *atirikta* (as resulting) from the *atirikta*, one makes him attain his (former status etc.) (MS. 2, 2, 11 : 24, 6 ; cf. TS. 2, 3, 1, 5)¹⁵.

The sacrificer who has the *vajapeya* sacrifice, which is closely associated with Prajāpati, performed becomes equal to this god (PBr. 18, 6, 4 ; 18, 7, 5 ; ĀpŚr. 18, 1, 3). JBr. 2, 192, after stating what it is not, calls it an additional (*atirikta*) sacrifice, because Prajāpati, to whom it belongs and to whom it leads, is *atirikta*¹⁶.

In constructing the great fireplace one should see to it that the wings and the tail of this structure, which is a bird-like body (ŚBr. 10, 2, 1, 1), are contracted inside by just the same number of finger-breadths as it is expanded outside ; “thus he neither exceeds (its proper seize) nor does he make it too small” (4). Similarly, 5 and 7. According to the same Brāhmaṇa (10, 2, 3, 16) Prajāpati himself had already been solicitous to construct the fireplace in perfect proportion, filling up with redundant lengths wherever there was anything defective in it. Following his example, those who are building it should not deprive Prajāpati, who is identical with that structure, of his due proportions (7).¹⁷

At TS. 2, 5, 11, 4 something excessive is in an interesting way brought into relation with the number of completion and perfection

14. Cf. also the comm. on ĀśvŚr. 9, 9, 10 “if there is no *ṣoḍaśin*, there is no additional litany (*atiriktaktham*)”, cf. ŚŚr. 15, 3, 4.—For other instances see. e.g., KS. 30, 7 : 189, 13 ; P. 11, 5, 15 : 12, 13, 10.

15. See also this page onward.

16. Cf. J. Gonda, *Prajāpati's numbers*, to be published in *The Vol. in honour of Prof. G. Tucci*, Rome.

17. Cf. also cases such as that mentioned ŚBr. 3, 7, 11 : just as a couple of draught-animals of unequal strength does not draw in the same way, two unequal metres do not draw the sacrifice perfectly.

three : "if one were to anoint the kindling sticks with one stanza, one would propitiate one ; if with two, two ; if with three, one would make (the offering) go beyond (all others)".¹⁸—Just as the three provinces of the universe are in perfect congruity and fit excellently together *abhisampadyamānam*, the sacrifice, man (i.e. the sacrificer) and Prajāpati do not exceed one another (ŚBr. 12, 3, 1, 1). That means that, as is explicitly stated in the same Brāhmaṇa, they so to say coincide (cf. e.g., 7, 1, 1, 37 ; 10, 2, 1, 2 ; 10, 2, 2, 6 ; 11, 1, 1, 1 ; 11, 2, 8, 3).

When, for instance, by adding a sixteenth (*ṣoḍaśa*) libation to a normal soma offer, one performs an *atirikta* sacrifice (PBr. 6, 1, 5)—which at ŚBr. 4, 5, 3, 1 is said to have come into existence when the beings surpassed (*atyaricyanta*) Indra — one should also use the *anuṣṭubh* metre, which is *atirikta* because it is not used in the three services of the *agniṣṭoma*. "Thus he causes that (soma of the *ṣoḍaśin*) to remain over" (5). The PBr., l. c., stating that something redundant is only fit to be given as a *dakṣiṇā* on the occasion of an *atirikta* sacrifice, that is one that exceeds the measure of a normal sacrifice, informs us of the motive of this ritual procedure : it has to be observed "for the sake of congruence" *salomatvāya*. Another interesting example — from which it appears that the results of a sacrifice are also expected to be 'congruent'— is furnished by ŚBr. 1, 9, 2, 29 f. : when, after making the *samiṣṭayajus* oblation, which marks the completion of a sacrifice, one offers up the sacrificial grass (the *barhis*, which "consists of plants"), one performs an *atirikta* rite ; and because after¹⁹ performing the *samiṣṭayajus* one offers to those (deities that are to be dismissed, comm.), unlimited additional (*atirikta*) plants are here produced."

So ritual acts should be in harmony with one another. If in some respect one deviates from a rule the repercussions may manifest themselves at a later moment. Thus, if in fetching the sacrificial grass one should leave a part of the tufts as a remnant, one would cause a part of the sacrifice to be left with a surplus ; therefore one

18. See, e.g., ĀpŚr. 2, 12, 7 ff. and A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, Jena, 1880, p. 80 ; 86.

19. Not "in" with J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa*, I, Oxford, 1882, p. 264.

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should take only one tuft of grass and cut that off completely in order to avoid overdoing in the performance of the sacrifice (*yajñasyānatirekāya*, TBr. 3, 2, 2, 4 f. ; cf. ĀpŚr. 1, 3, 8 ; otherwise BhŚr. 1, 3, 9 etc.)²⁰.—Or the effects resulting from a surplus or a deficiency in sacrificing are expected to fall upon the patron of the sacrifice ; in the former case there will arise a surplus in his own person (body), in the latter the sacrifice is broken off (or disturbed) and the patron will be hungry (MS. 1, 4, 11 : 59, 10).

Passages attesting to an unfavourable opinion of acts or things redundant or deficient and to grave doubts about their harmlessness are indeed as numerous as the attempts at eliminating the evil consequences of their occurrences. If there is something deficient or redundant in the sacrifice, its patron (the sacrificer) runs the risk of being ruined (TS. 3, 4, 1, 3). “The sacrifice of him, whose offering (*havis*) is too large (*atiricyate*) is unsuccessful (*vi...rdhyate*)” and the demons (*rakṣaṁsi*) infest a victim that being destined for one single deity, is greater (than normal). These threats should be warded off by mantras (TS. 3, 3, 10). The deficiency of the sacrifice goes to the sky, the redundancy to the earth ; if one appeases both the deficiency and redundancy by means of sky and earth (the mantra 3, 3, 10 h), the patron will not be ruined.—The consequences of an activity that deviates from the rules, norms, or right procedure, that is of overdoing or failing in some respect, may indeed be disastrous. The one who takes charge of the construction of the great fireplace addresses it as follows : “Thou art built up, thou art completely built up, O Agni ... May I not, by building up thee (too little), O Agni, my I not, by building up thee too much take away from the complete duration of my life” (TBr. 3, 10, 3, 1).—From places such as AiBr. 7, 26, 5— which deals with the share of the patron of the sacrifice who, being a *kṣatriya*, does not eat it so that it becomes superfluous—it appears also that something redundant is expected to do harm (*hinasti*) to the patron. If a patron “goes beyond (*atirecayati*) the *dikṣā*” (i.e. performs the rites of consecration more days than is regarded as normal) his vital powers or psychical organs (*prāṇāḥ*) leave him (TBr. 3, 8, 10, 4 f.), because, the text adds, their number (seven) should correspond with the number of days prescribed for this rite.

20. See also KS. 31, 1 : 1, 9 and 11 ; KapS. 47, 1 : 284, 10. MS. 4, 1, 2 : 3, 6 reads *anātirecāya*.

That which is deficient (*nyanam*) is explicitly said to be "imperfect, unsuccessful, miscarried, failed" (*vyṛddham*, ŚBr. 6, 3, 3, 26).—Judging from a passage such as AiBr. 4, 7, 1 the evil consequences of a deficiency were under certain circumstances even felt to be more dangerous than the corresponding excess: the *āśvina śastra* consists of 1000 stanzas, "what is less than 1000 is not the *āśvina*; therefore one should recite 1000 or more".

Once, it is told in ŚBr. 11, 2, 3, 7 f., when the ṛṣis had performed a sacrifice, the *gandharvas*, approaching, pointed out to them the errors they had made; "wherever they had done too much it was like a hill (*giriḥ*), and wherever they had done too little it was like pits (chasms, *śvabhrah*), clefts in the earth (*pradarāḥ*)". It may be recalled that chasms and clefts are seized upon by Nirṛti, the goddess of decay and destruction (5, 2, 3, 2 f.; 7, 2, 1, 8).—The vital powers (or faculties, *prāṇāḥ*) depart from those who exceed the duration of the consecration which should be observed for seven days (13, 1, 7, 2). Even when the gods did not know whether they had made Prajāpati (i.e. the great fireplace) too large or had left him (it) defective they deemed it wise to pronounce a mantra (VS. 18, 76) for the sake of a successful completion of their task (ŚBr. 10, 1, 3, 8)²¹.—If one would perform a definite ritual task on this side of a certain point one would interrupt the vital breaths; if beyond that point, one would cause the breath to be excessive; he (the sacrificer) would die an untimely death (KS. 27, 5 : 145, 1).²²

More than once the opinion is expressed that a redundancy in the sacrifice will be beneficial to the rival or enemy of the sacrificer.²³ Thus it reads at KBr. 18, 1, 1 ff. : "The *āśvina (śastra)*²⁴ is

21. On the occasion of the *dakṣiṇāhomas* (midday service of a soma ceremony) the sacrificer has to look at the officiants who are sitting in the shed erected in the sacrificial enclosure (*sadas*) with "be in line with the *sadas*-priests" (ŚBr. 4, 3, 4, 18; KŚr. 10, 2, 18), "whereby he means to say, 'let the *sadas*-priests not go beyond thee" (VS. 7, 45); as the *dakṣiṇā* (gift or offering intended for the officiants) is addressed, the meaning is "don't forget to give the priests a liberal share".

22. Cf. also KS. 28, 1 : 153, 8; 9 and 29, 8 : 177, 7.

23. Notice that the verb *atiricyate* is also used to denote the idea of "surpassing" (a rival in prosperity, PBr. 12, 13, 2). As appears from its meaning and accent (cf. TS. 1, 7, 5, 2) this-*ya*-present is an eventive (cf. J. Gonda, Old Indian, Leiden, 1971, p. 90), not a passive.

24. See AiBr. 4, 7-11; ŚŚr. 9, 20.

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(a sacrificial rite) in which there is a redundancy of soma. By that which of (in) a sacrifice is redundant the rival of (its) patron becomes refractory (*pratryudyamī*). Similarly, ŚBr. 1, 4, 1, 38 "what is superfluous (left unused, *atiriktam*) of the sacrifice, that is left for his rival who is filled with feelings of hatred"; 1, 9, 1, 18; 3, 1, 1, 3 (cf. BhŚr. 10, 13, 4); 6, 5, 2, 22; TBr. 1, 2, 5, 3; MS. 4, 1, 2: 3, 5 "what is left unused (*atiricyate*), by that he causes his rival to prosper"; likewise KS. 31, 1: 1, 9. There is for the sacrificer no possibility of profit in offering too much, but the offering is not in vain; it must be beneficial to someone, but since it is the result of an error or mistake of those engaged in sacrificing it may be expected to be prejudicial to the sacrificer's interest. Attention may also be drawn to TS. 7, 3, 1, 2: "What is successful (*samṛddham*) in the sacrifice falls to the patron (sacrificer), what is unsuccessful (*vyṛddham*) to his rival".

Not infrequently, the reader is explicitly dissuaded from doing what is excessive. For instance, one should not follow the *caraka-dhvyayus*—adherents of a branch of the Black Yajurveda with different rites and practices—in laying down different bricks as holders of breaths other than the *prāṇa* etc., "for they do what is excessive and in this (our) way all these forms are (duly and correctly) laid down" (ŚBr. 8, 1, 3, 7, *agnicayana*). One should not take a seventeenth officiant (10, 4, 1, 19)—a prohibition directed against the Kauṣītakin—for Prajāpati's 'digits' or sixteen parts (specified in § 17) are "these sixteen officiants". According to Kauṣītaki definite offerings belonging to the so-called consecration of Keśin should not be made, because they would be redundant (KBr. 7, 4 (7, 6, 10 ff.)).²⁵—Nor should one immolate an incomplete last set of eleven sacrificial animals²⁶ (ĀśvŚr. 12, 7, 9).

From various ritual directions it appears that something redundant was no matter of indifference; on the contrary, it required careful handling. If some articles remained when at the end of a sacrifice the gifts destined for the officiants (*dakṣiṇāḥ*) had been divided equally, they should be given on the last day as an extra gift together with the portions due to the recipients (ĀśvŚr. 9, 1, 11).—

25. Cf. also KBr. 14, 5 (14, 6, 13 ff.); ŚBr. 10, 4, 3, 6; AiBr. 1, 17, 15; 4, 8, 8; PBr. 6, 1, 5.

26. See Eggeling, ŚBr. V, p. 309 f. and cf. ŚBr. 13, 2, 5, 2; 13, 5, 1, 3; 13, 6, 1, 6.

When at the end of a year-long soma ceremony there remain nine days one should on each of them offer an *atirikta* victim (ĀśvŚr. 12, 7, 10 ff.; ĀpŚr. 21, 23, 3 f.).—Or one should do away with what is redundant—or from a ritualistic point of view is considered to be so—so that it is rendered innocuous. A number of bricks that is not divisible by ten (*agnicayana*)—literally “exceed (*atiricyeran*) without making up another”—is supposed to fall into calamity and to cause failure; one should break them and throw them on the heap of rubbish (*utkara*) which is said to be the “foundation” (*pratiṣṭha*) of what is superfluous (*atiriktasya*, ŚBr. 8, 7, 2, 16).

Or a thing that is left over is said to become or to be changed into something else. When the gods distributed speech (the metrical texts of the Veda), the pith of it was left over and became the *gaurivita sāman* (KBr. 30, 7: 189, 12; PBr. 5, 7, 1; 9, 2, 3)²⁷; according to 11, 5, 14 and 12, 13, 10 when *Gauriviti* had beheld it, after it was left over; see also JBr. 1, 204.

However, the ritualists providing against the impending danger found also other, subtler or more complicated means of eliminating or neutralizing the effects of redundancies or deficiencies. One can ward off the danger by reciting an appropriate mantra and invoke divine assistance, e.g., make good (lit. cover up, *api vapatī*) the imperfect or unsuccessful (*vyṛddham*) by means of TS. 3, 3, 10 invoking the aid of Bṛhaspati and Prajāpati (3, 4, 1, 1), or appease (*samayati*) it by a stanza addressed to Heaven and Earth (2 f.). Or one avoids performing an act which would result in a redundancy openly or acts so as to create the appearance of performing it and at the same time omitting it. “The share of the patron is the sacrifice; the *brahman* priest, the *purohita* of a *kṣatriya*, is the sacrifice and also half the self of his patron. If the *brahman* eats the patron’s share this, being the sacrifice, is placed in the sacrifice and so becomes innocuous, as water placed in water; if it would not be eaten, it would be redundant and dangerous” (AiBr. 7, 26). By executing definite *stotras* in such a manner that one omits something, and at the same time takes the opposite line, one avoids both mistakes (JBr. 2, 397)²⁸.

27. Cf. also PBr. 8, 6, 1; 8, 9, 6; 9, 2, 3.

28. Cf. also MS. 4, 8, 9: 118, 18; KS. 13, 10: 192, 3; ŚBr. 9, 5, 2, 3 f.

That something defective can in certain circumstances serve to repair a mistake appears from AiBr. 3, 46, 7ff. If one wishes to expiate an error in the choice of priests one may chant the *sāman* of the Vāmadevas SV. II, 32-34 ; ṚV. 4, 31, 1-3, the last stanza of which is three syllables short (the hymn is in the *gāyatrī* metre)²⁹. In chanting one should divide one's self into three so as to add to each of the three defective parts of the stanzas one of the syllables of the word *puruṣa* (cf. Sāyaṇa's note) which is synonymous with *ātman* "self". Then one places one's self in the 'world' (*loka*) of the sacrificer (patron), in that of continuance of life (*amṛtam*), in the heavenly world—because the *sāman* is these 'worlds'³⁰—and overcomes all errors in sacrifice. The procedure consists in filling up a threefold incomplete stanza in order, so to say, to fill up the deficiency, that is to repair the mistake made.

An interesting method of neutralizing the detrimental influences that might emanate from something superabundant is described in ŚBr. 4, 4, 3, 3ff. : the *hariyojanagraha*, which consists of the last third part of the preceding *āgrayanagraha*³¹, is taken as an superabundant (*atirikta*, "additional", Eggeling) libation ; it is poured into the *dronakalaśa* (a large wooden vessel), which, having arisen from the head of Vṛtra (who was identical with Soma), was filled with an excess of soma juice ; "and so is this cupful in excess ; he thus places the excess in an excess (*atirikte*)". See also § 8 : for this libation the *unnetar*, who is "in excess", because he does not perform this function for other libations, has to respond to the *adhvaryu* ; and cf. 10³². A similar rite is described at 5, 4, 2, 10 (dealing with the royal consecration) : any residue (*saṁsrava*) that is left over is offered in the *agnīdhriya* hearth, "for redundant is that residue, and redundant also is the *agnīdhriya*, because in it no oblations are cooked or offered ; thus he places the redundant in the redundant"³³.

29. Cf. H. Oldenberg, *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*, I. *Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena*, Berlin, 1888, p. 373. Cf. also JBr. 1. 178 ; 1. 243.

30. Cf. J. Gonda, *Loka. World and heaven in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 49 ; 50.

31. See W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, Paris, 1906-1907, p. 383 ff. and the texts quoted there.

32. See also MS. 4, 7, 4 ; KS. 28, 9 ; KapS. 44, 9 and cf. p. 28, last para of this paper, as to the *unnetar* p. 30, last para of this paper.

33. Other instances of this expression, e.g., PBr. 9, 2, 4 ; 9, 7, 10 18, 6, 19.

Here the text continues : "he offers it on the north part (of this hearth), for this is the region of this god (viz. Rudra, whose name is mentioned in the mantra)". Rudra is the recipient of refuse and the leavings of the sacrifice (*vastavya* ; see 5, 2, 4, 13) and also the god connected with portents such as deformed beings or beings with too few or too many limbs (§Br. 5, 11, 2).

The Aitareyins, on the other hand, pronounce at the end of the tenth day of a long soma sacrifice the quasi metrical formula "what we have done here defective (*ūnam*), what we have done in excess, let that go to Prajāpati the father" (AiBr. 5, 24, 13 ; ĀśvŚr. 8, 13, 26 ; see also VaitS. 34, 2). This request is quite compatible with the statement found KS. 28, 10 : 164, 2³⁴ : "What of the sacrifice is superfluous is superfluous with regard to (for the sake of) Prajāpati". See also ŚBr. 11, 1, 2, 5. The commentator on ĀśvŚr. explains "father" by "protector" ; AiBr. 14 observes in explanation that Prajāpati is the firm foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) of what is defective or excessive, and also that those who knowing this pronounce these words transfer defect and excess to this god, so that these will not harm them (14 f.). Here, and elsewhere, a *pratiṣṭhā* controls that (those) power(s) which is (are) normally founded on it and prevents the dangerous influences that might emanate from it (them). Powers that are firmly founded (*pratiṣṭhita*) are settled, placed where they belong, and unable to exert any influence in places and under circumstances where they could be unwished for and dangerous³⁵ (cf. also AiBr. 1, 30, 11) For a similar formula see BŚr. 16, 9 : 256, 11 "...what we have done, what we have failed to do, what we have omitted, what we have not omitted, what we have done to excess, what we have not done to excess, that must go to father Prajāpati".

According to JBr. 1, 167 anything deficient or redundant made by the *udgatar* in performing his ritual task is lost (*miyate*) and goes to the world of Yama ; "persons who have risen from the dead

34. Also KapS. 44, 9 : 265, 2 ; cf. also MS. 4, 7, 4 : 98, 15.

35. Gonda, *Pratiṣṭhā*, in *Selected studies*, II, Leiden, 1975, p. 338 ff., especially p. 355 f.—In PBr. 7, 1, 3 f. the officiant who chants an "unresponded" *gāyatra* (i.e. one that is not responded by the sound *him*) and thus makes that *gāyatra* redundant has no *pratiṣṭhā* himself.—Those who pronounce a stanza of a redundant metre—i.e. of a metre that is longer than normal—obtain a *pratiṣṭhā* in these worlds because such a stanza is (equal to) these worlds (PBr. 4, 9, 1 f.).

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say that they have seen it there".—TBr. 1, 6, 5, 5, however, states that that (part) of sacrificial worship (*yajña*) is seized by Varuṇa (i.e. afflicted) which extends beyond (*atiricyate*) that which has been seized (i.e. what has not been named, identified) by a sacrificial formula (*yajus*). After stating that a soma sacrifice is fivefold—it consists of the three services, the final bath and the *anubandhya* cow (a sterile cow to be offered at the close of the ceremony)—MS. 4, 8, 5 : 112, 2 expounds the view that what remains as superfluous of the sacrifice, viz. the sediment of the soma juice, the leather on which and the hand-press with which the soma is extracted and strained, are taken by Varuṇa and to be conveyed to the water (likewise KS. 29, 3 : 170, 16, and cf., e.g., ĀpŚr. 13, 19, 6 ; 13, 20, 12 f.). It seems relevant here to recall that Varuṇa is also supposed to take the ill-offered part of a sacrifice, and Mitra the well-offered ; after receiving the victim the latter god, being pleased, surrenders it again to the sacrificer ; and so does the former after having made the ill-offered well-offered (ŚBr. 4, 5, 1, 6 f. ; TS. 6, 6, 7, 3 etc.)³⁶.

Or divine assistance is invoked to make good an excess or a deficiency. Among the formulae recited by the *adhvaryu* when he worships the great fireplace is "thou hast built up thyself... ; what of thee, O Agni, is too little (*nyūnam*) and what of thee is too much, the Ādityas and the Aṅgirasas must build that up (correctly)" (TBr. 3, 10, 3, 1 ; likewise 3, 11, 6, 1)³⁷.—When the great fireplace is in course of construction (*agnicayana* ritual), the officiant has at a given moment to pronounce the formula "what of thee has not (yet) been piled up and what of thee, O Agni, has been piled up, what is deficient and what is redundant, the Viśve Devāḥ, the Aṅgirasas must pile (that) up, the Ādityas must (that) pile of thine make full" (KS. 40, 5 : 138, 15 ; ĀpŚr. 16, 34, 4 ; cf. also TBr. 3, 11, 6, a).

In this connexion it is worth mentioning that the redundancy of the sacrifice, the (abnormal) greatness of the victim and the prosperity (expected to result from such a sacrifice or offering ; cf. also TBr. 1, 4, 5, 4) are TS. 3, 4, 1, 4 said to be that somewhat

36. I refer to J. Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, Leiden, 1972, p. 25.

37. As to the Aṅgirasas see A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 142 f. For references to their ritual practices see TS. 7, 1, 4, 1 ff. ; PBr. 20, 11, 1 ff. ; for Aṅgirasas and Ādityas performing a soma sacrifice ŚBr. 3, 5, 1, 13 ff.

mysterious manifestation of Viṣṇu that is known as Śipiviṣṭa³⁸ (*yad ... atiricyate ... tad viṣṇuḥ śipiviṣṭaḥ*)³⁹. That is why one should offer to this deity in case one is put into a dilemma, viz. should one make an offering redundant by cutting off the portion due (to the god(s)) or fail to perform the rite correctly by omitting this act? Then one appeases the redundant by placing it in the redundant. In the somewhat longer and different version KS. 10, 13 the (abnormal) greatness of the victim and the redundant are said to be of (belong to) Viṣṇu, and Śipiviṣṭam is—probably for this particular purpose—explained as synonymous with *atiriktam* (also 14, 10 : 209, 10 ; 34, 4 : 38, 15) ; moreover, “by means of the *atiriktam* one obtains the *atiriktam*” etc. In KS. 14, 10 and MS. 1, 11, 9 : 171, 10 that which (in sacrificing) is superfluous is stated to be superfluous with regard to (for the sake of) yonder (the heavenly) world and those concerned are described as chanting upon stanzas that contain the name Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa, a stanza containing the name Śipiviṣṭa being Prajāpati's body that is in (manifests itself as) cattle (*paśuṣṭhā* ; see also MS. 1, 11, 9 : 171, 9 and PBr. 18, 6, 26). These statements are followed by the same explanation.⁴⁰ In case there is something left over from the afternoon service one should chant the *gaurivita* melody on stanzas addressed to this manifestation of Viṣṇu (KŚr. 25, 13, 8) ; then one becomes firmly established (*pratiṣṭhāti*) on Viṣṇu, the sacrifice, the *gaurivita*⁴¹ being a remainder, (PBr. 5, 7, 1) or redundant in which the redundant (soma) is placed (9, 7, 9 f. and cf. 11). It may also be noticed that, according to TS. 7, 5, 5, 2 one should chant stanzas addressed to Viṣṇu and containing the above epithet when at the morning pressing of the soma the bowl is broken.

38. J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht, 1954 ; Rep. Delhi, 1969, p. 106. As to the name, which has remained unexplained up to the present day, see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, III, Heidelberg, 1964-76, p. 337. For Soma and Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa see also J. Gonda, *Soma's metamorphoses*, Amsterdam acad. 1983.

39. See also p. 17, lines 19-20 of this paper.

40. Similarly, MS. 1, 11, 9 : 2, 2, 13. For another explanation of the name (Viṣṇu is the sacrifice, see Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 77 ff. ; śipi is cattle (*paśu*), i.e. the victim) see MS. 1, 6, 8 : 99, 7 ; TS. 2, 5, 5, 2 ; TBr. 1, 3, 8, 5, and ŚBr. 11, 1, 4, 4. At MS. 2, 2, 13 : 25, 6 śipiviṣṭam is said to mean “smallest” (*ksodiṣṭham* ; see also GBr. 2, 1, 9) ; cf. TS. 2, 5, 5, 2 ; otherwise at ŚBr. 11, 1, 4, 2 (cf. KBr. 4, 2, 10).

41. See pp. 11-13 of this paper.

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This is obviously regarded as a case of redundancy—one had to put into use another bowl—because the author continues: “What in the sacrifice is redundant is redundant with regard to Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa, who places the redundant in the redundant; having obtained the redundant by the redundant they secure it (i.e. one will use the new bowl without detriment)”⁴².

In connexion with the rule that only a soma sacrificer should offer the *sāmnāyāyam* (a mixture of fresh boiled and sour milk or curds of the preceding night’s milking offered to Indra) TS. 2, 5, 5, 1 (cf. BhŚr. 9, 6, 2 f.; ĀpŚr. 9, 4, 6 ff.) informs us that the moon deprives that man of offspring and cattle and makes his rival wax great on whose sacrifice when offered it rises in the east. As is well known (the sight of) the moon is in various countries sometimes believed to be a source of evil⁴³. According to MS. 2, 2, 13 : 25, 8 the soma of that man is left over on whose *sāmnāyāyam* the moon rises and this soma is left over with regard to (for the sake of) his cattle. The one who is desirous of cattle should on the day of new moon, after having sacrificed, drive away the calves and offer sacrificial cakes in such a way that the smallest are given to Agni Sanimat (“the Liberal one”), those of middle size to Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa and the biggest to Indra Pradātar (“the Bestower”).

When that which has been left over is a remainder of sacrificial food offered it is in cases such as ĀpŚr. 20, 12, 10 ; 20, 16, 19 purposely kept in order to be used on another ritual occasion. For the remains of the food offerings given to the horse (*aśvamedha* ritual) see these places and also TBr. 3, 9, 4, 8, where they are afterwards again offered to this animal (thereby the king’s subjects are supplied with food (cf. TS. 7, 4, 20 d and e) ; also ŚBr. 13, 2, 6, 8 : when one offers the food that has been left over from the food oblations (*annahomas*, 13, 2, 1, 1) to the horse which is sacred to Prajāpati and represents that god who in the accompanying mantra is invited to eat it, one supplies the people abundantly with food.

42; See also KS. 34, 9 : 38, 18 and cf. BŚr. 29, 2 : 370, 2.

43. Cf., e.g., in the *Old Testament*, Psalms 121, 6. For the moon as the heavenly dog watching the sacrificer’s cattle to seize them see ŚBr. 11, 1, 5, 1 ; for the identity of Vṛtra and the moon 1, 6, 3, 17 and 1, 6, 4, 12 f.

At the end of each service all the soma juice that has been prepared must have been offered and drunk⁴⁴, the *sāṃpraiṣa* (summons pronounced by the *adhvaryu* to another officiant) being "do not leave (anything) over". In case, however, some soma is left over⁴⁵ from the morning service, this juice is believed to long for the midday service (TBr. 1, 4, 5, 1 ; BŚr. 14, 25 : 196, 2 ff. ; PBr. 9, 7, 2). This particular may on the one hand be considered to attest to the significance attached to continuity, on the other hand to the belief that the remainder left without a destination has a peculiar power which should not be disregarded⁴⁶ : although interruption of the ritual activities is normal, a deviation from the rule is possible, and the supposed desire of so important a sacrificial requisite as the soma juice is taken seriously and made the starting point of special ritual acts and provisions against the risks taken. In this case those concerned should chant on stanzas in which the Maruts are invoked, because the first recitation of the midday service is addressed to these gods (PBr. 2 ; KŚr. 25, 13, 1 ff., where also other ritual particulars⁴⁷), but they should chant *gāyatrī* stanzas (cf. ŚBr. 4, 5, 3, 5, because the *gāyatrī* is associated with the morning service (for ritual details see also ĀśvŚr. 6, 7, 1 ff.). Thus one departs neither from the morning nor from the midday service (TBr. 1, 4, 5, 1 f.)⁴⁸. It may be recalled that the ritualists seldom omit stating whether the whole contents of a sacrificial vessel are to be consumed or only part of it. In the former case the phases of the liturgical action are separated, in the latter case they are connected, because the remains obviously are connective in function or build, so to say, a bridge⁴⁹. KŚr. 25, 13, 4 recommends that in this case "the *stoma*, at the chanting of which the quantity of the soma might be

44. Cf. Caland and Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, p. 250 f. ; 264 ; cf. p. 367.

45. On the deity of the *atirikta* soma (the same as that of the ladleful of which it is a remainder) see BŚr. 26, 9 : 284, 3. The deities of *atirikta* *stotras* are the *Āśvins* (26, 31 : 316, 5 ; cf. also 18, 15 : 360, 10 ; 29, 2 : 370, 3).

46. Cf. also D.J. Hoens, *Śānti*, Thesis, Utrecht, 1951, p. 107.

47. Cf. Caland and Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, p. 276.

48. See also W. Caland's notes on PBr. 9, 7, 1 and on ĀpŚr. 14, 18, 5 (*Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, Amsterdam Acad., 1924, p. 394).

49. For particulars and references see J. Gonda, *Atharvaveda*, 11, 7, Volume L. Renou, Paris, 1968, p. 318 f. (= *Selected Studies*, III, p. 456 f.) ; on the remnant idea in general p. 329 ff. (p. 467 ff.).

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excessive should itself in every case (i. e. at the end of all three services) be employed", according to the commentary for the sake of expiation, (*prayaścittarthe stotre*), to PBr. 9, 7, 3 for the sake of congruence (*salomatvāya*). According to TBr., l. c., the Marut stanzas ṚV. 8, 94, 1-3 are chanted in order to avert any evil (*śāntyat*) from the interval between the two services. Similar directions are given in case soma juice is left over from the midday service (TBr. 2; BŚr. 196, 16; PBr. 6 ff.; KŚr. 5 ff.; ĀśvŚr. 6). If some soma remains of the afternoon service one should—as already mentioned⁵⁰ chant the redundant *gaurivlti* melody on stanzas addressed to Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa (KŚr. 8; PBr. 9 f.). KŚr. 16 f. makes mention of a dissentient view on the strength of what is said in the *śrutī*, viz. the juice is left over, because it longs for the soma of the following service (see above), the excessive quantity of the previous service should be purified together with the soma of the later service. The author (18 f.) enjoins that any excessive soma of the afternoon service should be offered into the *āhavanīya* fire (cf. also MS. 2, 4, 3: 40, 4; KS. 28, 9: 164, 1) or be mixed with the residue (*rjiṣam*) of the soma and thrown into the water during the *avabhṛtha* rite. That means that this soma should, like the various utensils which have come into contact with the juice, the pressed shoots of the plants etc., be disposed of, because it is considered to bear a potency that is dangerous when it has no longer to fulfil its ritual function.

If soma is left over from the *agniṣṭoma*, it is believed to long for the *uktha* lauds (the three *stotras* added in the *ukthya* soma sacrifice to the twelve of the *agniṣṭoma*)⁵¹ (see PBr. 11; cf. TBr. 5); if from these, one should perform an overnight (*atirātra*) rite (PBr., l.c.; TBr., l.c.; cf. also ĀśvŚr. 7); if from this, one should chant stanzas addressed to Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa on the *bṛhat* melody (PBr., l.c.; cf. TBr. 4; ĀśvŚr. 8; BŚr. 197, 8). Since after the *atirātra* there does not follow another form of soma sacrifice, this soma should be regarded as being left over in an absolute sense (cf. PBr. 11, comm.). It is said to long for yonder world. For this reason the *bṛhat* metre should be used which is homologized with yonder world (PBr. 9, 7, 12; 7, 6, 17; cf. TBr., l.c.). The texts of the White Yajurveda mention a somewhat different succession of rites inserting a *śodaśin*⁵²

50. See p. 16, lines 19-20 of this paper.

51. For other details see Eggeling, ŚBr. III, p. XIV ff.

52. Cf. ŚBr. 4, 5, 3, 7; 11; ĀpŚr. 14, 2, 2 ff.

after the *ukthya* (ŚBr. 4, 5, 10, 8 ; KŚr. 25, 13, 10 ff.)⁵³ ; after the *atirātra* one may undertake a day performance (ŚBr.), a *mahāvratā* (some authorities quoted KŚr. 13), or an *aptoryāma* (a development of the *atirātra*, (KŚr. 14 ff.) with four additional (*atirikta*, PBr. 20, 3, 1 ; LŚr. 2, 5, 25 ; DŚr. 5, 1, 30) *stotras* and *śāstras*)⁵⁴. According to KŚr. 15 the *aptoryāma* is to be repeated, if any soma remains after its performance⁵⁵.

The noxious and dreadful influences of supernatural forces are often understood as effects of offences against the sacred order committed, unintentionally or even deliberately, by individuals or communities. These offences, transgressions, deviations from the rules must be atoned for and the superhuman powers must be propitiated. Atoning rites remove or expiate the effects of faults or transgressions (*doṣanirghātārthani*, BhŚr. 9, 1, 4 ; ĀpŚr. 9, 1, 4) and omissions, of deficiencies as well as the irregular superfluities. If such rites were not performed, man would break off his correct relationship with the powers. Thus a text such as GBr. 2, 2, 5 recommends that the performance of a sacrifice should be surveyed and protected by a learned *brahman* priest whose task it is to prevent the rite from becoming null and void on account of the non-application of mantras and ritual rules, of the omission of *dakṣiṇas*, the deficiency or addition (*hinad variriktad va*) of ritual acts and so on.

53. Cf. also ŚBr. 4, 4, 2, 18 and Eggeling's notes, ŚBr. II, p. 368 ff.

54. The poet of RV. 8, 58, 3 invites the Aśvins to drink (the soma) that has remained (*dti riktam pibadhyai*). K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, Cambridge Mass., 1951, p. 379, is of the opinion that this place alludes to the *aptoryāma* soma sacrifice. Attention may indeed be called to BŚr. 18, 15 : 360, 10 mentioning authorities who were in favour of the custom to offer the four extra libations of this sacrifice to the Aśvins ; cf. also ĀpŚr. 14, 4, 15. Does RV. 8, 58, 3 allude to an Aśvin rite that in course of time has been incorporated in a full-fledged *aptoryāma* ritual ? On the *aptoryāma* see Eggeling, ŚBr., III, p. XX ff.

55. The verb *atiricayate* occurs also ŚvetUp. 2, 6 ; the 'usual translation seems to be "where soma flows over" (R. E. Hume, *The Thirteen principal Upanishads*, Oxford, 1934, p. 398 ; S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upanishads*, London, 1953, p. 720 ; see also P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda*, 3 Leipzig, 1921, p. 295 ("quillt reichlich") ; R. Hauschild, *Die Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 11 ("reichlich flieszt") ; A. Silburn, *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, Paris, 1948, p. 58 ("déborde")). The author no doubt wishes to call up a suggestion of soma ceremonies performed uninterruptedly.

A slip of memory, a mistake in the performance, or the omission of some significant act may invalidate the whole ritual proceeding. If due to an error or negligence of an officiant there arises a deficiency or a superfluity, this should not be treated as unimportant and left uncared for. In his chapter on *prayaścittas* (BŚr. 27, 1 : 322, 9) Baudhāyana says that, when in invocations of deities the officiant, while failing to invoke the deity that is entitled to a share, invokes another one and with this one offers a libation with the *sruva*, he should in every case, when he has become aware of this mistake, stand up and invoke the omitted deity mentally and worship the redundant one with ghee in that order in which that deity was invoked (see also BhŚr. 9, 18, 11 ; ĀpŚr. 9, 15, 22).—When the one who is constructing the great fireplace worships it in erect position with the stanza VS. 18, 76, (in which the aid of some gods are invoked), he thereby obtains (i.e. makes good, secures) all that part of him (Prajapati who is represented by the fireplace), which, whether he knows it or not, he either does in excess or does not bring to completion (in the structure) (ŚBr. 10, 1, 3, 10).

It is, therefore, not surprising that the final chapter of the description of the sacrifices of full and new moon TBr. 3, 7, 11, which contains the formulae that are to accompany the libations called “general atonements” (*sarva prayaścittāni*) should begin with the mantra “that which of the sacrificial rite is superfluous and that which is defective, the sacrifice, extending (the rites performed in) the periods of the changes of the moon, sets that in order.” Similarly, 3, 10, 1 ; ĀpŚr. 3, 11, 2, 2. To ward off the evil effects of deficiencies and redundancies in sacrificing ĀśvŚr. 1, 11, 15 prescribes the formula “what of thee is deficient that (must be placed) upon (added to) thee ; (as to) the redundant, to that of thee homage”⁵⁶. At the end of its description of the sacrifices of full and new moon VārŚr. 1, 3, 7, 20 prescribes the use of a long series of brief formulae ending with *svāha*, so to say to restore the balance of power, among them “I offer the excessive in the deficient, *svāha* ; I offer the deficient in the excessive, *svāha* ; I offer the normal (*samam*) in the normal, *svāha*”. In a long benedictory mantra quoted at the end of ŚGr., viz. 6, 6, 16, it reads, among other things : “From what has been wrongly recited, from what (a mantra that) has been wrongly employed, from everything deficient and

56. Cf. also ŚŚr. 3, 20, 17.

redundant, for the good of gods and *ṛṣis* Brahman and Reality (*satyam*, also truth) must protect me". When a son has been born the father takes him in his lap and makes an oblation pronouncing, among other prayers, the wish : "Whatever in my (ritual) work I have done too much (*atyarīricam*), or whatever I have done here too little, let Agni *Sviṣṭakṛt*, the knowing one, make that well-sacrificed *sviṣṭam* (and) well-offered" (*BrĀrUp.* 6, 4, 24).

Although we are not surprised to learn that the authorities prescribe special rites to make amends for any excess committed or anything left defective, the circumstantiality of some of the relevant arguments and explanations is remarkable and attests to the importance the ritualists attached to atonement being made for anything redundant or deficient. ŚBr. 11, 2, 3, 9 is a case in point. While touching—a well-known method of transferring power, influence for good etc.⁵⁷—the sacrificial bank (*vedi*, *Uvaṭa*) one pronounces the second half of VS. 2, 19, making amends for the excess committed by the words "O sacrifice, homage to thee" and for anything defective by the following *upa ca* (literally "and thereto" but by *Mahīdhara* taken to stand for *upacaya* "increase, prosperity"). In saying "abide successfully *saṁtiṣṭhasya* by the auspicious (*śive*, viz. condition) of the sacrifice, abide by my correct sacrifice (*sviṣṭe*) "he appeases (*śamayati*)⁵⁸, i.e. makes amends for) both of the above mistakes and his sacrifice comes to be performed as one that is neither defective nor excessive"⁵⁹.

Such a rite of atonement may even be performed for a threefold purpose, viz. "for obtaining (*aptyai*, i.e. supplying, making good) what is deficient, for reducing (*anātiriktyai*) what is redundant, and for perfecting (*saṁṛddhyai*) what is imperfect (*vyṛddhasya*)". Because after building the great fireplace one is still apt to get into trouble, one should, in order to make perfect the fireplace itself, the patron and the builder, worship in a standing position (*upatiṣṭhate*) the construction with the seven stanzas VS. 18, 68-74, a rite by which all that has been done in excess or not been brought to an end, or, in short, has not been secured for the patron is made good (ŚBr. 9, 5, 2, 1 ff.). The number seven of the stanzas is in harmony with the

57. J. Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, Leiden, 1980, p. 82 ff.

58. J. Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, p. 286 ff. ; see also Hoens, *Śanti*, p. 16 f.

59. The Sanskrit text is still more circumstantial;

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seven layers of the fireplace, the seven seasons, regions etc., which all of them are secured in this way. Those who add an eighth stanza, because Agni is of the nature of the *gayatri* metre which consists of eight syllables, are ill-advised, because the number of the syllables of these stanzas, viz. 256, is equal to that of eight *anuṣṭubhs* (of 32 syllables each). The implication is that an eighth stanza is superfluous and inconsistent with the above homologation (8 f.). Compare also 10, 1, 3, 10.

It is, on the other hand, possible to turn, by ritual means, the disadvantages into an advantage or benefit. When the *adhvaryu* offers, to the accompaniment of the appropriate mantras TS. 1, 1, 13 s and t, an oblation of the chaff produced by the husking of the rice on the splinters of the kindling sticks which have been put in the remainder of the sacrificial butter—all three objects are *atirikta*—he places a surplus into a surplus and obtains by this surplus of oblation a surplus of reward (*atiriktenaivatiriktam*⁶⁰ *aptva*, TBr. 3, 3, 9, 9 f.)⁶¹.

Although generally speaking uneven numbers are considered to be inauspicious⁶², the one that remains over from an even number is ŚBr. 3, 9, 3, 34 with reference to the jugs containing the so-called *ekadhaṇā* water said to be left for the sacrificer's welfare and prosperity. One might compare 13, 1, 3, 8, where after the injunction to offer 48 oblations in order to make certain of the possession of cattle—cattle is of *jagata* (movable) nature and the *jagati* metre consists of 48 syllables—it is stated that one offers one surplus oblation, whence one man is apt to thrive among (many) creatures".

Cases of an intentional addition of something redundant in order to achieve a definite purpose are not wanting. When the *adhvaryu* has offered the 48 oblations to the (beautiful) forms (or aspects) of the horse (*asvamedha*) with the brief formulae TS. 7, 3, 17 and 18 (except the last one) in order to make the sacrifice successful (*samyddhyai*) and to provide the sacrificer with beautiful forms or aspects (TBr. 3, 8, 17, 4), he offers one 'superfluous' (*atiriktam*) oblation with the last formula "to all (or to the complete

60. Cf. also PBr. 11, 5, 15.

61. See also p. 7, line 11 of this paper.

62. J. Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, p. 29.

(*sarvasmat*, viz. horse)) *svaha*", by which he causes the sacrificer (patron) alone to prosper among the creatures (TBr. 3, 8, 8, 4). This 49th oblation may be regarded as surpassing and at the same time embracing the 48 preceding ones for the exclusive benefit of the sacrificer who is elsewhere (ŚBr. 9, 5, 2, 16) said to be the body or self (*ātma*) of the sacrifice. Compare also ŚBr. 13, 4, 2, 2, from which it appears that the fact that the horse is characterized by all outward forms or aspects (*sarvāṇi rūpāṇi*) is "for the sake of the sacrificer's securing all, because *rūpam* as well as the *aśvamedha* are *sarvam*". The *aśvamedha* is the *kṣatriya*'s sacrifice (13, 4, 1, 2 ; cf. 13, 1, 6, 3 ; 13, 2, 2, 16 ; it is the sacrifice for the king who is desirous of all objects of desire, KŚr. 20, 1, 1 ; cf. ŚBr. 13, 4, 1, 1 ; for the horse corresponding to nobility 6, 4, 4, 12).

Passing mention may be made of the additional litanies (*atiriktoktham*), referred to, e.g., KBr. 27, 3 and 4 (27, 5 ff.) and 30, 11 (30, 9)—cf. ŚŚr. 10, 13, 21 ff.—prescribed to those who perform a varied form of the soma sacrifice and expect to achieve definite objects by them (e.g. 27, 4 (27, 6, 1) : "thus they delight mind (*manas*)").

It should be borne in mind, however, that words for "superfluous" do not always or necessarily connote ideas such as "unnecessary, useless, void of importance" ; they often refer also to what is simply left over, remaining as surplus or extending beyond a certain amount, quantity etc.⁶³. What is *atirikta* or excessive may also be "superior, better or excellent". This helps to explain some uses of this word which would at first sight appear to be incompatible with many of the above explanations. A number of places call for some comment, however. Parts or organs of the body of a human being or an animal that do not exist in pairs, such as the heart, could obviously be considered *atirikta* : cf. ŚBr. 4, 5, 4, 6 "much of this self (person) occurs singly and is *atiriktam* (over and above the limbs etc. which occur in pairs)...". Now, it is worth observing that a reference to the heart, of whose importance and indispensability one was very well aware, is made in order to corroborate, by means of a parallel in the well-known biological reality, the

63. Cf. e.g., the Latin *superfluous*. As to the other connotations of Sanskrit *atiriktam* and *atirikta* see *An Encyclopaedic dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles*, II, Poona, 1980, p. 1093 ff.

statement that the so-called *atigrāhyas* — the three “extra libations for Agni, Indra and Sūrya, by which the patron of the sacrifice was endowed with fiery energy, authority, and brilliance” (cf. BhŚr. 13, 16, 1 ; ĀpŚr. 12, 15, 9 f. ; TSr. 1, 4, 29 ff. ; KŚr. 2, 3, 2) — should be offered after the *āgrayanāgraha*⁶⁴ which is regarded as the self or person (*ātman*, ŚBr. *ibid.*). This reference was no doubt also to argue, by implication, the *atigrāhya*, which is no element of an ordinary soma sacrifice (*agniṣṭoma*) but belongs to the ritual of the *dvādaśaha* (twelve days’ performance)⁶⁵, notwithstanding its being something extra, an authentic rite⁶⁶. —The existence of a cow’s tail, referred to as that which extends behind beyond (her body) (*paścād atiriktam*, PBr. 16, 2, 8) is ascribed to the fact that the ‘cow stoma’ (*goṣṭoma*) numbers 241 stanzas, that is 24 times the number ten of the *virāj*⁶⁷ and one left over (cf. also § 7).

A redundancy may be in harmony with the circumstances (ŚBr. 9, 4, 2, 28 : for special wishes additional oblations may be offered, for in wishes there is nothing excessive). It may be intelligible, useful, unavoidable, indispensable. The *viṣuvat* — lit. that which has or shares both sides equally, which is central one between two equal groups or sides — that is the central day which divides the *gavāmayana sattrā* of a year’s duration into two halves, of which the latter is in many respects the reverse of the former, is at VaitS. 31, 10 said to be *atirikta*, that is “belonging to neither side”. This day is, however, far from being superfluous or useless, because then the sun is honoured with offerings (cf., e.g., PBr. 4, 6, 3, 12 ; ĀpŚr. 21, 15, 16). ŚBr. 12, 2, 3, 6 f. the question is posed as to whether the *viṣuvat*, which is in excess, belongs to the preceding or to the following months. The answer is : to both, because the *viṣuvat* is the body of the year, and the months are its limbs or wings and neither is the body in excess of the limbs or wings, nor are the latter in excess of the former. Thus the apparent superfluity is — in view of the importance of the *viṣuvat*, successfully — explained away.

64. Caland and Henry, *L’agniṣṭoma*, p. 165 ff.

65. Eggeling, ŚBr. II, p. 402 f. ; III, p. 6.

66. For the *atigrāhyas* see also TS. 6, 6, 8 ; MS. 4, 7, 3.

67. See p. 4 last par. of this paper.

So cases are not absent in which something extra is desirable or even obligatory. The performance of the *tryambaka* offerings, which are to deliver one's descendants from Rudra's power (Tryambaka is a manifestation of this god), requires as many sacrificial cakes as the sacrificer has descendants, plus an additional one (*ekenatiriktāḥ*) by which one delivers the descendants that are not yet born to him (ŚBr. 2, 6, 2, 4 ; see also TBr. 1, 6, 4, 5 ; 1, 6, 10, 1)⁶⁸ ; see also KŚr. 5, 10, 2, where the commentary explains : "as many (cakes) as there are inmates of his house, including his wife (the wives), exceeding by one". In contrast to the other cakes no cutting is taken from the superabundant one (ŚBr. § 8 ; KŚr. 8). Whereas the other cakes are offered to Rudra and his sister Ambikā, the one that is in excess is buried in a mole-hill (KŚr. § 13 ; ŚBr. § 10) with "this is thy share, 0 Rudra ; the mole is thy animal"⁶⁹. Thus neither the other animals nor the unborn descendants of the sacrificer will be injured by the god (ŚBr.). In the variant version of the rite handed down (TBr. 1, 6, 10, 2) one should, saying "N.N. is thy victim", indicate the one whom the sacrificer hates, whereby one delivers up this person to Rudra, If the sacrificer hates no one, one should say that the mole is the victim.

Since the horse belongs to Varuṇa, this god is expected to seize the person who accepts this animal. That is why that person should propitiate the god by making so many offerings to him as he accepts horses, and, in addition, an extra one in order to be set free from Varuṇa's punishment (his noose), if perhaps he is going to accept one more horse or if he has overlooked one (TS. 2, 3, 12, 1 f.).

The ingenuity of the ritualists proved almost unlimited and most successful when they were confronted with problems of congruence. Since it might be expected that eleven portions of the sacrificial material must be consecrated by means of eleven mantras, the question arises as to what to do with the ten superfluous mantras in case one mantra suffices to invite all the gods concerned to the offering. The solution of this problem is : eight of these mantras serve as a *pratiṣṭhā*⁷⁰ (obviously for the victim) in the four cardinal and the four intermediate points of the compass, and two as a *pratiṣṭhā* for the patron who is a biped (VādhŚr. 4, 6)⁷¹.

68. See also ŚBr. 2, 5, 2, 14 ; 22.

69. Cf. J.J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*. Zürich and Leipzig, 1937, III, p. 230 ff.

70. See fn. 35 of this paper.

71. See W. Caland's note, *Acta Or. Lugd.* 6, p. 104.

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The actual, possible, or presumed existence of something redundant is indeed in cases such as the following, either directly or indirectly, made an element of a line of ritual reasoning. The offices of the assistants of the *hotar*, one's progeny and regions on the other side of the sun are in excess (*atirikta*) of, respectively the functions of the *hotar* and the other chief priests, one's self and the regions on this side of the sun; what is *atirikta* is an excrescence (*cūḍa*); and that is why one should lay down bricks called *pañcacūḍa* "(the bricks) with protuberances" as additions to other bricks called *nākasad*, which represent the four chief priests, one's self, and the regions respectively (ŚBr. 8, 6, 11; 13; 14)⁷².—In the horse sacrifice a set of eleven sacrificial animals has eleven deities but there is also a ewe sacred to Sarasvatī (cf. ŚBr. 13, 2, 2, 4); because this one is redundant, women "exceed a man"; that is why one exposes a new-born girl, not a boy" (MS. 4, 7, 9: 104, 19)⁷³.—One establishes oneself firmly on the seasons by means of six syllables that remain as surplus of a chant, for six is the number of the seasons (MS. 4, 7, 5: 99, 16)⁷⁴.

There may also be a surplus or remainder where one should not expect it. When speech (*vāc*) was created it manifested itself in four parts, three in these worlds, viz. in this world in fire, in the intermediate world in the wind, in the heavenly world in the thunder, and the fourth in cattle; as to the speech that remained as surplus⁷⁵, "they deposited it in the brahmin and that is why a brahmin speaks speech of both kinds, that is according as he knows or does not know" (MS. 1, 11, 5: 167, 1). In the parallel version KS. 14, 5: 204, 20 "the brahmin speaks both forms of speech, viz. the divine and the human; the one who knows this gives evidence of manly energy by means of (his) speech". MS. 3, 6, 8: 70, 15 and KS. 23, 4: 79, 9 and KapS. 36, 1: 188, 12 relate that speech was continually entering gods and men and that what remained of it as

72. See also ŚBr. 8, 4, 4, 8.

73. Cf. KS. 29, 8: 177, 19 "that is why one man marries many wives, one woman not many (husbands)". For another motivation see KS. 27, 9: 149, 18.

74. See also MS. 4, 3, 3: 42, 4; 4, 6, 4: 84, 15; 4, 67: 89, 12; 4, 7, 5: 99, 17; JBr. 1, 189.

75. Cf. PBr. 5, 7, 1. See also Yāska, *Nirukta* 13, 9 explaining RV. 1, 164, 45.

surplus entered the trees becoming the sound that is in (is produced by) the kettle-drum, the flute, etc.⁷⁶.—In MS. 2, 2, 8 : 21, 15 (cf. KS. 10, 10 : 136, 16) it is told that when *Prajāpati* assigned their shares to the gods, Indra claimed that what would remain ; this appeared to be the *indriyam*, i.e. power or faculties of the senses which rised upwards to these worlds and was after a third attempt obtained by the god.⁷⁷

Among the most remarkable forms of the superabundant is that which is above the top-ring (*caṣala*, BhŚr. 7, 2, 11 ; ĀpŚr. 7, 3, 6 of the sacrificial post (*yūpa*). In the sections dealing with the setting up of this stake TS. 6, 3, 4 and ŚBr. 3, 6, 4-3, 7, 2 the information is imparted that, while the several parts of this object belong to the Fathers, men, the gods, whose worlds are gained with these parts (ŚBr. 3, 7, 1, 25), that small part of the stake which is above the top-ring (ŚBr. ; TS. 6, 3, 4, 7) — and which (in TS. 8 f.) is explicitly stated to be the *atiriktam* of the post — belongs to a class of minor deities, viz. the *Sādhyas*⁷⁸ (see also KS. 26, 4 : 126, 19 ff.) who in the Ṛgveda and elsewhere are called gods of former times (*pūrve*). Were they regarded as having survived the decay and disappearance of most other deities belonging to the previous generation ? Anyhow, TS. § 8 f. relates that they despised the sacrifice ; they thought it too little and wanted something more : “the sacrifice did not affect them ; what was superabundant in it affected them”, adding the explanation : “the superabundant part of the sacrifice is what they cast on the fire (immediately) after they have produced it” (cf. e.g. TBr. 3, 3, 2, 1). Is this a faint reminiscence of the simple sacrifices performed in the days of yore ?

When a soma ceremony is drawing to a close, the main rites of the afternoon service being completed, one offers the *hariyojana*

76. For a variant form of this story not making mention of a surplus see TS. 6. 1, 4, 1.

77. Cf. also TS. 2, 3, 6, 1, and see such other instances as MS. 4, 6, 4 : 84, 15 ascribing man's ability to go farthest among (all domestic) animals to the fact that the *āgrayana* cup of soma, which is homologized with *Prajāpati*, is left over (cf. TS. 6, 4, 11).

78. Cf. RV. 1, 164, 50 ; 10, 90, 7 ; 16 ; ChUp. 3, 6, 10. I refer to Geldner's note, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, I, p. 236 and to A. Weber, *Ind. Studien* 9, p. 6, fn. 2.

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("the harnessing of Indra's horses") cup of soma for the purpose of yoking Indra's horses for his departure from the sacrifice (e.g. KŚr. 10, 8, 1 ff.⁷⁹). It is not incorrectly said to be an additional (*atirikta*) rite (ŚBr. 4, 4, 3, 3 observing that this rite is performed when the *hotar*, after the offering proper is completed, pronounces the benedictory formula *śamyoh*; cf. TS. 6, 5, 9, 3; ĀpŚr. 13, 17). The author of ŚBr. adds an at first sight odd motivation: this rite is additional to the preceding soma rites just as the metrical texts are an addition to the gods and animals an addition to men. But one should remember that in § 1 the metrical texts are said to be the (draught) cattle of the gods drawing the sacrifice for them just as harnessed cattle draw for men.

Sometimes however the tendency to ritual systematism seems to prevail over what might be expected to be consistent with the idea expressed by the adjective *atirikta*. That ŚBr. 11, 4, 4, 8 ff. an incomplete part (*nyūnam*) is productive (i.e. produces offspring) for the sacrificer is intelligible⁸⁰; also that what is complete or perfect in it is conducive to heaven (cf. ŚBr. 10, 4, 4, 4; BrĀrUp. 4, 3, 33); but should the statements that the redundant is suitable for, or favourable to, cattle and that what in the sacrifice is crumbling away or broken (*saṃkasukam*) makes for prosperity not first and foremost, be due to the desire to associate the four main purposes of sacrificing with the four states (defective, excessive, imperfectly performed, perfect) of the sacrifice? However, KBr. 11, 6, 4 ff. distinguishes only three states of the sacrifice, viz. its completion, which is said to lead to heaven, its deficiency which is the possibility of eating food (*annādyam*) — how are we to understand this?, for the sacrifice as food see AiBr. 3, 45 — its redundancy which serves for generation.

Opinions are in fact not infrequently divided on an important point. With regard to the figure of a gold man which, representing Prajāpati, Agni, and the sacrificer (ŚBr. 7, 4, 1, 15), is laid down in the structure of the great fireplace. Some authorities object to making it a statuette with arms, because these would cause it to be redundant, the two offering spoons of an arm's length that have been laid down at its left and right sides (36) representing its arms (45). The author however refutes these opponents, observing, first that the spoons are

79. Caland and Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, p. 383 ff. See also p. 13, second par. of this paper.

80. Cf. pp. 32-33 of this paper.

only imitations of arms, and secondly that these 'arms' are, properly speaking, wings and that all forms one will add to the fireplace will really make it perfect and adapted for its purpose (*samskr̥tiḥ*). From this discussion it appears that the function of the addition is decisive; whereas a mere duplicate is superfluous and should be avoided, there is no objection to an excess that adds to the perfection and suitability (cf. *guṇotkarṣaḥetuḥ*, comm.) of an object, even if at first sight it seems to be a mere redundancy. Another and quite intelligible argument is adduced ŚBr. 9, 4, 2, 28; 9, 4, 3, 15; and 9, 5, 1, 40: the opponent who advises against additional oblations, "lest one should do what is excessive" is refuted by a reference to the fact that these oblations are made for special wishes, and that in wishes there is nothing excessive (*atiriktam*). This may be true, but an identical piece of advice ("one may lay down special bricks for the fulfilment of special wishes") in 8, 7, 2, 19 is, interestingly enough, followed by the warning "but let him rather not lay them down, for just that much the gods then did". In his heart the author is afraid of doing what is excessive, especially when that would imply contravention of a traditional law or disregard of an example set by the gods.

In KBr. 26, 3 the question is discussed, as to whether the one who in carelessness makes a blunder in a recitation etc. and thinks that the error has passed unnoticed, should go back (in his recitation), rectify the error and proceed from the place where the blunder was perpetrated. Whereas Paingya was of the opinion that one should not do so, because a mantra that is pronounced twice, when repetition is not prescribed, is superfluous (*atiriktah*), Kauṣītaki lent support to the theory that a limited number of mantras results in limited fruits of the rite, an unlimited number in unlimited fruits, because the unlimited, being mind (*manas*), is Prajāpati, who is the sacrifice, which is pleased by this procedure. The repetition of the mantra serves for the winning of the unlimited, so that there is no flaw.

The question as to who had a right to something left over might give rise to some discussion. In a section dealing with sacrifices that last several days TS. 7, 1, 5, 3 ff., stating that on each day in succession 333 (head of cattle) should be given, cites some authorities, who are of the opinion that the 1000th should be given to the *hotar*, because "what is left over is for this functionary; others

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however disagree saying that it is due to the *unnetar*, because this functionary "is the one of the officiants who is left over". Now, the *unnetar*, who as one of the assistants of the *adhvaryu* is in charge of the drawing out of the soma juice, is ŚBr. 4, 4, 3, 8 said to be *atirikta*, because he does not perform the *āśravaṇa* —i.e. the call "to cause to listen to" (cf. ŚBr. 1, 5, 2, 8 ff.; BhŚr. 2, 15, 3 ff.; ĀpŚr. 2, 16, 2) pronounced by the *adhvaryu* to cause the *agnidhra* to announce with the words "let it be heard"—for any libation other than that under discussion, which also is said to be superabundant (cf. also MS. 4, 7, 4 : 98, 7; KS. 28, 9 : 164, 5; KapS. 44, 9 : 265, 5). As to the 1000th cow see also ŚBr. 3, 3, 1, 13 (relating that Indra and Viṣṇu divided 1000 cows into three parts, leaving one, "hence, if any one were to divide 1000 by three, one would remain"); 4, 5, 8, 1 f.; KŚr. 13, 4, 16 (13, 3, 41); ĀpŚr. 22, 15, 8.

Attention may, in passing, also be drawn to ŚBr. 10, 2, 3, 18, where the man who constructs a great fireplace lower than a given limit (a sevenfold one) is said to become the worse for sacrificing and the man who constructs one 101 fold is stated to step beyond this universe⁸¹. At 13, 2, 1, 6 the person who in sacrificing goes beyond that number, which is the number of the ideal duration of man's life plus his own self as the 101st, is said to deprive the sacrificer of his complete lifetime. These places make us recall that, on the one hand, according to an ancient and widespread practice in stating the numerical value of something the whole is often added to the number of its components to emphasize the ideas of completeness and (or) of complexity of the entities constituting that quantity—remember the so-called baker's dozen—, not that of excessiveness⁸², and, on the other hand, numerals indicating an oft used number of completeness less one—especially 99—are not infrequently unpropitious or even regarded as demoniac, or used

81. For a discussion of this place and particulars see J. Gonda, *Prajāpati's numbers*, to be published elsewhere, see fn. 16 of this paper.

82. Although these numbers may characterize inauspicious concepts or entities (AVŚ. 3, 9, 6; 8, 2, 27). See J. Gonda, *Prajāpati's numbers, passim and Triads in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad., 1976, p. 19. For 101 see, e.g., RV. 10, 130, 1; AVŚ. 19, 46, 5; TBr. 1, 7, 6, 4 "he cleanses with 101 bunches of grass" (also KŚr. 7, 3, 3; ĀpŚr. 18, 14, 5); KBr. 8, 3 (8, 4, 9) "he should praise him with 101 (stanzas)"; 8, 6 (8, 7, 26); KŚr. 20, 5, "garlands of 101 gold-beads"; ŚBr. 10, 2, 5, 16; 10, 2, 6, 7; 9; 13; 15; AiĀr. 1, 2, 2.

to express such ideas as insufficiency or defectiveness : Indra and Viṣṇu overthrow the 99 strongholds of the demon Śambhara (RV. 7, 99, 5)⁸³.

In connexion with the two sāmāns *br̥hat* and *rathantara*, which are said to be male and female respectively, the author of AiĀr. 1, 4, 2 adds the explanation : "the excess (redundant, *atiriktam*) is of the male, the deficiency (*nyūnam*) of the female ; therefore they are excessive and deficient"⁸⁴. This association of the male organ of generation with the *atiriktam* and of the womb (vulva) with the *ūnam* (*nyūnam*) is a stereotyped opinion of the authors of the *brāhmaṇa* literature⁸⁵. The person who knows thus propagates offspring by copulation (and) procreation (*mithunena prajananena*, JBr. 2, 238). Hence also the statement that offspring is brought forth from the *nyūnam*, i.e. from the womb (vulva) (not "from the lower part (of the body)", Eggeling, ŚBr. 2, 1, 1, 13)⁸⁶ and the reference to Prajāpati's producing creatures from the *nyūnam*, the place of procreation (rather than "from that inferior (lower) source of production", Eggeling, 2, 5, 1, 20)⁸⁷. One makes the offering referred to TS. 5, 1, 9, 1 ; 6, 1, 2, 7 with a mantra that is deficient by one syllable because Prajāpati created offspring from the *nyūnam* ; this serves "for the creation of offspring". For the same reason one should offer with a half-filled laddle (TS. 5, 4, 7, 6)⁸⁸. According to TBr. 3, 3, 3, 5 the formula TS. 1, 1, 10 f, which, addressed to

83. For Rgvedic instances see J. Gonda, *Triads*, p. 16, fn. 61. Notice that JBr. 1, 135 makes mention of nine nines (i.e. 81) *asuras* and *rakṣases* ; at ŚBr. 8, 4, 1, 13 ff. the year as speed is 18 fold, as victorious 20 fold, as burning heat 19 fold.

84. Not, with A.B. Keith, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, Oxford, 1909 (1969), p. 190 "deficient and excessive", because in dvandva compounds the shorter word usually—and often contrary to expectation—precedes the longer.

85. See W. Caland, in ZDMG 72, p. 3.

86. The at first sight unclear statement (see Eggeling, ŚBr. I, p. 281, fn. 1) "the *nyūnam* itself is rendered a productive sexual union" seems to mean : "the *nyūnam* (caused by the existence of five seasons instead of six) may now be called a productive union (*mithunam prajananam*) because the *nyūnam* (womb) alone so to say produces the offspring". See also ŚBr. 2, 5, 1, 20 ; 11, 1, 2, 4.

87. See also JBr. 2, 81 *nyūnam prajananam* ; TBr. 2, 2, 1, 2 ; ŚBr. 11, 1, 2, 4.

88. One should not follow A.B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 435 in translating "for Prajāpati created creatures from the half-filled".

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Agni, makes mention of her being well provided with offspring, is pronounced by the patron's wife when she sits down near the *garhapatya* fire (see 2; ĀpŚr. 2, 5, 8) is to cause the sacrifice to copulate with her; thereupon she says "for generation: 'Into that which is deficient that which is redundant must be placed'".

Occasionally a text speaks of three superabundant objects (*atiriktani*) of a man, viz. the penis and the testicles and of the two deficiencies (*ūne*) of a woman (JBr. 2, 238). In explanation of this dual (see also PBr. 19, 3, 9) Caland⁸⁹ surmised that the author had in mind ṚV. 9, 112, 4 *romaṇyantau bhedaū* "the hairy genitals (lit. cleft, fissure)"; but why is there also the dual preferred?, because of the co-existence of the labia *majora* (prominent rounded folds of skin) and, between them, the labia *minora* (pendulous skin folds)? Are the two female *ūne* not rather the absent penis and scrotum?

This homologation of the *atirikta* with the penis and of the *una* with the vulva is combined with the speculations on the significance and the mutual relations of the metres, chants or the forms of chanting (*stoma*) the texts of the Sāmaveda. In connexion with some *stomas* which are believed to be conducive to (residence in) heaven it reads (PBr. 16, 3, 7): "the *goṣṭoma* exceeds the *viraj* (which consists of four quarters of ten syllables each⁹⁰; cf. ŚBr. 2, 5, 1, 20) by one (syllable) (because consisting of 241 stanzas it is divisible by ten, with one left over)". This surplus is said to be the "means of holding, handle" (*ārambhaṇam*, i.e. *upakrama* "approach, undertaking, anything that leads to a result", comm.). The *ayuhṣṭoma* is, the text continues, one syllable less than the *viraj* (it consists of 259 syllables, i.e. 260 syllables minus one); it is said to be the "place approached" (*āsada*, i.e. *prāpti*, comm.). Together these two are, therefore, a means of reaching heaven and the heavenly residence reached. But with their surplus and deficiency these two *stomas* (*ūnātiriktau stomau*) are also a pair (*mithunau* male and female) that is conducive to generation (i.e. the sacrificer's prolonged existence, comm.)⁹¹.

89: Caland, *Pañcaviṃśabrahmaṇa*, p. 505.

90. See p. 4 fn. 9 of this paper.

91. Similarly, JBr. 2, 89; 2, 238. See also TS. 7, 4, 7, 3.

Hence also a passage such as AiBr. 6, 9, 4 ff. : "He recites nine defective⁹² (stanzas) at the morning pressing : in what is defective (the vulva) seed is poured⁹³ ; ten at the midday (service) : seed poured in the defective having attained the middle part of the woman becomes most firm ; nine defective (stanzas) at the third (evening) pressing : from the defective offspring are born". Ten stanzas is the norm, but the number nine denoting a deficiency⁹⁴ should make the recitation correspond with the two most decisive moments, the beginning and the end of the process of impregnation and birth to which the daylong soma ceremony is compared (see also Sāyaṇa's comment). "Thus he (the officiant) procreates the sacrificer as an embryo from the sacrifice as a divine womb". The author adds that one should not follow those who recite seven stanzas every time because they injure the seed of the sacrificer and the sacrificer. (*yajamāna*) himself, the (Ṛgvedic) hymn being the sacrificer.

92. Not "small" (with A.B. Keith, *Rigveda Brahmana*, Cambridge Mass., 1920, p. 265). The three recitations are RV. 1, 16 ; 7, 21, and 4, 35.

93. The same expression occurs also at AiAr. 1, 1, 2 and 1, 3, 7 but there it is followed by : "in the *nyūna* the vital spirits are placed, in the *nyūna* food", which must refer to the heart and the stomach. Is this a case of transferred meaning (for the sake of argument ?) or were heart and stomach regarded as being in some respect defective ?

94. See p. 32 fn. 83 of this paper.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WORD SON IN SOME TERMS FOUND IN *ṚGVEDA* AND IN CHINESE

S. MAHDIHASSAN

The early Aryans were pastoral nomads who roamed all over Central Asia. As such, they came in contact also with the Chinese and this fact is incidentally revealed by some terms in *Ṛgveda* traceable to Chinese. There are only two drinks mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. These are Soma and Surā. Once we take the names Soma and Surā to Chinese the sense they incorporate makes them precise entities: Soma becomes ephedra, in fact the yellow species found on the borders of China. As is natural to expect it becomes first the name of the plant, the container, and next that of juice, its content. As Sanskrit word Soma is first the name of the juice and next that of the plant. Then Surā, as Chinese name, signifies the product of fermented grain, beer, neither wine nor distilled liqueur. On the contrary, literature on Surā, as Sanskrit word, leaves its nature as vague as it can possibly be.

With the establishment of such facts it does seem possible that the impact of Chinese culture upon the early Aryans must have expressed itself also in other ways. One such case seems to be the special significance of the word, Son, in a term like Son of Strength, frequently found in *Ṛgveda* which can be easily traced to Chinese.

Mathews (1975) gives, as character 6939, the Chinese word "Tzu (meaning) a son, a child; posterity." But the same word in combinations can become an honorific epithet as in the name Confucius. Character 3720, is Khung, originally meaning "an opening, a hole" but later it became a surname. With Tzu suffixed to it, Khung-Tzu, as two words mean "Khung-Son" or "the son-named Khung". But Tzu, the son, as honorific word, means master or lord. Accordingly Mathews, translates the term, 6938, e, 14, "Khung—Tzu = Master—Khung, latinized into Confucius". Likewise, the Chinese philosopher, the expounder of Confucianism, is mentioned

in item, 6988, e, 15 as "Meng—Tzu—the philosopher Meng, latinized into Mencius". Thus Tzu, in the names Khung-Tzu and Meng-Tzu, means master. As the item 6938, 26 Mathews gives the Chinese term, "Thien—Tzu=Emperor". Here Tzu=Son, but as Thien-Tzu, means the Son of Heaven, a synonym of Son of God, which I believe was a title assumed by the ancient Mesopotamian kings and later by the Achamenians. At any rate only in a special combination, such as above, Tzu, as son, carried the honorific sense of master. Finally we find Tzu in Chinese, becomes an epithet even of objects like chair or knife. Thus Mathews gives as item, 6938, d, 1, "Dau—Tzu=a knife". As two words they mean "master-knife" which connotes a special knife, the best knife, where "master" carries the same sense as in the English terms, masterpiece and mastercard. By now we can realize that in Chinese the word Tzu, son, has a very wide application and also functions as an honorific epithet meaning master or lord.

Strange enough history shows an instance of how Tzu, used in honorific sense, has been literally translated as son or child. Chengiz Khan tried to enter into correspondence with Khwarazam Shah, in 615 A.H. The task was left to his secretary who had to write the letter in Persian. The secretary obviously knew Chinese but had poor command over Persian. He then conceived as the most complementary form of addressing Khwarazam Shah on the same pattern as the terms of addressing the highest dignitaries in Chinese. There was a saint who was known as Khung-Tzu and there was the emperor called Thien-Tzu. Accordingly Khwarazam Shah would be Khwarazam-Tzu, being the ideal title possible. Now came the secretary's knowledge of Persian translating Tzu = Baccha in Persian meaning son. Accordingly Khwarazam Shah = Khwarazam—Tzu=Khwarazam-Baccha = Khwarazam the son. Thus the letter which finally reached Khwarazam Shah addressed him as Khwarazam-Baccha. Naturally he felt much insulted and, in fact, this became the antecedent of misunderstandings which finally led to the war between Khwarazam Shah and Chengiz Khan. Moreover, I find in Persian literature on Sufism there are terms like Mugh-Baccha, meaning the son of Piri-mughan, as the title of one next in rank to the chief Sufi, the Piri-mughan.

Now when we find the secretary of Chengiz Khan can translate Tzu=son and again when son remains part of the title of an elite

among the Sufis it is conceivable that the Aryan nomads have been equally impressed by the same word, Tzu, for they coined for themselves a term like, Son of Strength, as the title of one who was the Master of Strength, the most powerful one. To find the term Son of Strength, we now turn to verses in R̥gveda translated by Griffith (1889). I.26.10 states : "With all thy fires, O Agni, find pleasure in this our sacrifice, And this our speech, O Son of strength". Interesting is the commentary which Griffith offers : "*Son of Strength* the appellation is of frequent occurrence, and is sometimes applied to Indra also as a specially mighty God. The expression, applied to Agni, alludes to the strength employed in rubbing together the two pieces of wood to generate fire". The same explanation is briefly indicated explaining again the term Son of Strength in I.45.9.

Agni is spoken of as Son of Strength in numerous verses. In Book I alone, there are the following verses : I. 27.2 ; I. 45.9 ; I. 58.1 ; I. 58.8 ; I. 79.4 ; I. 96.3 ; I. 127.1 ; I. 141.1 ; I. 143.1. It would be superfluous to give the list of all the references where Agni is thus addressed. Then even Indra is addressed as Son of Strength. IV. 24.1 states : "Indra, the Son of Strength, ...he is the Lord who sends us gifts". V. 3.1 : "In thee, O Son of Strength, all Gods are centred. Indra art thou to man who brings oblation". VIII. 79.2 : "We claim alliance with the very Glorious one, yea, with the Mighty Son of Strength."—Indra. VIII. 81.14 : "Those, Son of Strength, are come to thee who cherish wishes in their hearts : O Indra, none excelleth thee".

Then even Brahmanaspati is addressed as Son of Strength :—

I. 40.2 : "O Son of Strength, each mortal calls to thee for aid when spoil of battle waits for him".

But Griffith comments that "Agni is sometimes called Brahmanaspati, or Lord of Prayer".

R̥bhus are celestial craftsmen who fashioned Indra's chariot. As craftsmen, they would exhibit strength and deserve to be called Lord of Strength, for which the Chinese term with Tzu literally translated, would be Sons of Strength. Thus verse I. 161.14 states : "The Maruts move in heaven...Varuṇa comes in the sea's gathered waters, O Sons of Strength, desirous of your presence". IV. 35.1 reads : "Come hither, O ye Sons of Strength, ye R̥bhus ; stay not afar, ye Children of Sudhanvan". IV. 35.8 : "Give us riches, Children of

Sudhanvan, O Sons of Strength ; ye have become immortal". IV. 37.4 : Rbhus "Ye Sons of Strength, ye progeny of Indra, to you the best is offered to delight you".

We have learnt, as Mathews translates, Tzu means, not only Son but also Child. Then Rgveda has the term Child of Strength, and Agni is also addressed as such. I. 141.10 : "Agni,...Thee, therefore, even as Bhaga, will we set anew, young Child of Strength, most wealthy ! in our battle-song".

VIII. 44.13 : "I invoke the Child of Strength, Agni with purifying flame, At this well-ordered sacrifice".

Mathews has told us that one title of the Emperor would be Thien-Tzu, where Tzu = Son, Child. Then the title as translated has been Son of Heaven, but it can also be Child of Heaven. We now turn to RV VI. 49.2 which says : "The Son of Strength, the Child of Heaven, the signal of sacrifice, red Agni will I worship". Here Agni is red, which would qualify fire and not lightning. Thus, in the verse above, the terms, Son of Strength and Child of Heaven, are both traceable to Chinese as their originals. That the composer of hymns in Rgveda knew the significance of the terms, Son of Strength or Child of Strength, is obvious for we find verses where the Son of Strength is expressed also as Master of Strength, for Tzu, literally son, really means master, as in the term Khung-Tzu, Master-Khung, Confucius. Thus stanza III. 41.5 says : "Our hymns caress the Lord of Strength, vast, drinker of the Soma's juice, Indra, as mother-cows their calf."

I. 29.2 : "O Lord of Strength, ...great deeds are thine, the powerful. Do thou, O Indra, give us hope of beauteous horses and of kine, In thousands". I find, however, that only Indra is addressed as Lord of Strength, but never Agni or any other deity.

In Chinese Tzu = Son and also Child, then a synonym of Son of Strength would be Child of Strength which can further give the equivalent term, Child of Power, and this has been a title of Agni. VIII. 73.5 says : "May serve thee, O thou Child of Power, and with what sacrifice's plan?" We, thus, find a difference between the appellations addressed to Indra and Agni, each is addressed as Son of Strength but Indra alone as Lord of Strength, while Agni as Child of Power.

IS THERE A DOUBLE RETRIBUTION ACCORDING TO THE UPANIṢADS AND THE VEDĀNTA ?

Y. K. WADHWANI

0. One of the chief tenets of all systems of Indian philosophy except the Cārvāka and Buddhism is the assumption that there exists an immortal entity amidst and beyond all transitory phenomenal entities ; as a corollary of this assumption, it is believed that, at the time of death, an individual is survived by his undying soul, which will either be reborn on earth in accordance with its unretributed deeds of the past life/lives, or be liberated for good from the cycle of transmigration by attaining to the supreme esoteric knowledge which annihilates all past deeds (except those that have already started fruitening : *Prarabdha-Karman*).

1.0. According to Upaniṣadic teachers like Pravāhaṇa Jaivali (=PJ) in BṛĀrUp. and ChUp. (Ref. next par.), Chitra Gārgyāyaṇi in Kauṣītaki Up., Satyakāma in ChUp. 4, 14-15, Pippalāda in Praśna Up. 1, 9-10, the Bhagavadgītā 8.24 and some Vedāntins, the soul bound for liberation goes to various worlds of the Sun, the Brahman etc. after death ; the path of its sojourn is often called *Devayāna* (: the path of Gods). As against this, a soul destined to be reborn is believed to traverse along *Pitṛyāna* (the path of the Fathers or Manes).

The doctrine of PJ, which has come down to us in two slightly divergent versions in ChUp. 5, 3-10 and BṛĀrUp. 6.2. 1-16, propounds in addition a third path also : that of immediate rebirth as petty worms and insects for men of very abominable nature. The intensely evil deeds committed by them are retributed in those births immediately and but once. As per retribution along the *Pitṛyāna*, however, there is some room for doubt or confusion arising from its depiction by PJ, which goes as follows :

1.1 After enumerating Smoke, Night, the Dark Fortnight, six months of the southern course of the Sun, (the year) Pitṛloka, Ākāśa and the Moon as Stages of ascendance of the Soul along *Pitṛyāna*, its descendance therefrom is described in these words :

“Having stayed in that [region of the Moon] until *sampāta* (— which will be discussed in detail further on —) they return by the same route as they had come (— i.e. by stages corresponding to those of their ascent to the Moon)¹.”

1.1A Commenting on the word *sampāta* in the above passage Śaṅkarācārya (= Ś.) says that it implies the exhaustion of deeds whereupon the souls descend [from the moon]². In his comm. on BrS. 3.1.8, however, Ś. merely mentions his opponent's interpretation of *sampāta* as *karmāśaya* (aggregate of Karmic impressions) causing the souls to *ascend* unto the other world for enjoying its fruits. He makes no comment on this view of *sampāta* (—while, as regards the exact nature of *anuśaya* mentioned in BrS. 3.1.8, he gives an elaborate discussion—). It is not clear, therefore, which of the two above interpretations of *sampāta* is more acceptable to Ś. His commentator Vācaspati appears to accept the meaning given by the opponent³ !

Like ŚBh., the Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya and the Śivārkamaṇidīpikā on BrS. 3.1.8 offer no comment on the opponent's view *atra sampātaḥ karma-samūhaḥ*. The same is true of Bhāskarabhāṣya on 3.1.8 : *sampātanty aneneti karma sampāta-śabdenocyate* (: an opponent's statement with no comment).

1.1B Rāmānuja (=R) seems to have a slightly different view on this term. For, he remarks : ‘*yāvat-sampātam* is said with reference to the [lasting of the] *specific* deeds that have begun to bear fruit [in yonder world]’. That this does refer to the fruit *in yonder world*, becomes clear from the sub-comm. Śrūta-prakāśikā which explicitly tells us that the above statement in ŚrīBh. is made in order to distinguish *sampāta* from *anuśaya*, which is another type of *karman*

1. This is the literal translation of ChUp. 5.10.5 : *tasmin yāvatsampātam uṣitvathaitam evādhvānam punar nivartante yathetam*. Cf. also BṛArUp. 6.2.162 *teṣāṃ yadā tatparyayaity athetam evakāśam abhinipādyante...*

= ‘When that (=the aggregate of deeds leading to heaven : Ś) comes to an end, they reach this ether...’.

2. Cf. DaśaUp. I. 230 : *sampātanti yeneti sampātāḥ karmanām kṣayaḥ*.

3. Cf. Bhāmatī p. 668, lines 15ff : *na hi yāvantaḥ sampātā yāvataḥ vā punśān sampātās te sarve tatpreṣṭādikāriṇā bhogena kṣayaṃ nīyante. puruṣāntarāśrayānāṃ karmāśayanāṃ tad-bhogena kṣaye'tiprasaṅgāt, ciropabhuktānāṃ ca karmāśayanāṃ asatāṃ candramaṇḍalopabhogenaṇāpanayanāt*.

and gives recompense here (on earth)⁴. The Śrīkarabhāṣya merely copies the statement of R. noted above, and Govindabhāṣya does almost the same. A clearer statement is offered by Vedāntakaustubha⁵. (The Aṇubhāṣya on 3.1.8 makes no mention of *sampāta* at all).

1.1C. This term *sampāta* occurs also in connection with certain rituals⁶ and signifies the remnant or residue of any fluid offering which 'falls and settles (*sam-patati*) [at the bottom of a container]'. Guided by this usage, Paul Deussen (PhilUp. : p. 336) translates *yāvat-sampātam* thus : "as long as a remnant exists"; hence, according to him, ChUp. 5.10.5 propagates total retribution in the sphere of the Moon of all accumulated deeds of an individual soul.

1.2. However, shortly after this mention of *yāvat-sampātam* stay on the Moon, comes the statement in ChUp. 5.10.7 that [on coming to earth] those [souls] who possess a good conduct⁷ will attain a good birth as a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya ; while those of ignominious character shall attain birth as an outcast working in cremation grounds (*cāṇḍāla*) or a dog or a pig⁸.

4. Vide ŚrīBh. on 3.1.8 : *yāvat-sampātam iti phaladāna-pravṛttakarmaviśeṣa-viśayam* ; and *Śrūta-prakāśikā* thereon (vol. ii, p. 414, lines 21-25) *karmāntaram anusayaḥ, na tu svargārtha-karmaṇā, ekadeśa iti, phaladāna-pravṛttakarmaviśeṣa-viśayam hi bhāṣyam, na tu karmāṇḍa-viśayam iti*. (The opponent's view : *sampātanty anena svargam lokam iti sampātak karmocyate* has not been contradicted in either of these).

5. Cf. *Vedāntakaustubha* on 3.1.8 : *svargaprāpti-hetubhūtam karma-jātam yāvatsampātam ityādi-śrutyocyate. tad-bhinna ahiḥkaśarādi-prāpti-hetubhūtam karmānusayaśabdena gṛhyate*.

6. E.g. in *ĀpŚr.* 12.11.5 : *sarvam āgrayaṇasthalyām sampātam avanīya riktam pātram āyatane śudayitvā...*

7. The Vedāntins, however, tell us (in comms. on BrS. 3.1. 8-11) that although *carāṇa* means conduct, that alone could not be responsible for determining a new birth and also the happy/miserable experiences encountered therein by the soul. Hence they argue, the meaning of *carāṇa* must here be extended to imply all merit and demerit, i.e. karmic impressions (cf. ŚrīBh. on 3.1.9 : *carāṇaśrutiḥ karmopalakṣaṇārtha...kevalācārat sukha-duḥkha-prāpty-asambhavyā. sukha-duḥkhe hi puṇyapāparūpakarmaphale*. Cf. also ŚBh. on 3.1.10 : After all, conduct serves merely to condition one's deeds, so why not extend the sense of *carāṇa* to the residue of actions ?

8. ChUp. 5.10.7 : *tad ya iha ramaṇīya-carāṇa abhyāśo ha yat te ramaṇīyām yonim āpadyeran brahmaṇa-yonim vā kṣatriyayonim vā vaiśyayonim vā, atha ya iha kapṭhyacarāṇa abhyāśo ha yat te kapṭhyām yonim āpadyeran śvayonim vā*

2.1 (i). Deussen sees a clear contradiction between ChUp. 5.10.5 and 7 noted above. Vide his remark (PhilUp. : p. 329) : "This so-called chief text [of the doctrine of transmigration (: cf. *ibid.* : p. 328)] teaches a double retribution, once by reward and punishment in the other world, and again by rebirth upon earth. This feature is evidently primitive, and is nothing more than a combination of the traditional future recompense found in the Veda with the novel recompense of the transmigration doctrine"... "And thus, that which has already received a full recompense, is recompensed yet again and strictly speaking, the entire concept of a recompense is destroyed" (*ibid.* : p. 332).

2.1 (ii). In his another book (SysVed. : p. 365), Deussen complains that the confusion implicit in ChUp. 5.10.7 is further enhanced by Vedāntins who have sought a basis in both the ChUp. and the BrĀrUp. "so that it is hardly possible to obtain a uniform and consistent view".

2.1 (iii). Elsewhere in the same book (p. 357-8), he has complained that the Vedānta not only accepts the transmigration theory of the Upaniṣads [which postulates retribution of good or evil deeds of past lives in a new birth on earth], but also tries to retain the older doctrine of retribution in the beyond come down from the eschatology of the Saṁhitā stage (which makes no mention of a return to earth through a new birth, and hence implies total retribution of all deeds in yonder world, leaving no residue of deeds unrecompensed).

2.1A. In this connection, it may be noted that Deussen's criticism of Vedānta with regard to double retribution is not entirely novel. It has a precursor in an opponent's view (*pūrvapakṣa*) set forth and refuted in BrS. 3.1. 8-11. Fortunately all commentators (excepting Madhvācārya) are in general agreement as to the interpretation of these sūtras⁹. We shall, therefore, take the ŚBh. as their common

sūkara-yoniṁ vā cāṇḍāla-yoniṁ vā. The parallel BrĀrUp. passage has no such reference. But elsewhere, in BrĀrUp. 4.4.5, we read : *yathākārī yathācārī tathā bhavati. Sādhukārī sādhu bhavati pāpakārī pāpo bhavati...* In some other Upaniṣadic passages, mostly of a later date, we find both deeds and knowledge (=thought ?/mental make up ?) as determining one's future birth, e.g. KauśUp. 1.2, KaṭhaUp. 2.2.7, ŚvetUp. 5.11-12).

9. Vide Ghate, 1960, 2nd ed., p. 115.

representative except where slight divergences exist. (As presented in ŚBh. the opponent's view may be summarised as follows¹⁰ : By the word *sampāta* is here (i.e. in ChUp. 5.10.5) meant the aggregate of karmic impressions (*karmāśaya*), by [dint of] which the souls ascend or fly from this world to the other, for the sake of enjoying the fruits thereof. Hence the passage implies complete requital of deeds there (= in the lunar world) itself, and so also does the comprehensive term in another Upaniṣadic passage¹¹. Moreover, the *prārabdha karmāṇi*. i.e. deeds that have already started their fruition [in a particular life], obstruct fruition of many others. When *prārabdha* deeds are exhausted, death takes place ; and, it provides a chance for all deeds, so far hindered from fruition, to manifest themselves. There is no reason why it may be supposed, as proposed by the Vedāntins, to manifest only certain deeds for fruition in the world beyond and detain some to serve as a remainder, determining the quality of the future birth. For, does not a lamp, which is placed at an equal distance from a jar and a piece of cloth, illuminate the latter as well as the former ? ... It follows then, that the souls descend [from the moon] without any residue of unrequited deeds ; [and yet, they are believed to obtain a new birth on earth as per a residue of their deeds ! This is a discrepant thinking in the opponent's opinion].

2.1B. The Vedāntins have the following replies to offer (: We have, however, changed the order of their arguments for facility of summarization) :

(i). Just as in this life, prior to death, those actions that have already started fruitening are strong enough to prevent other actions from beginning their operation, in the same way at the time of death too, certain deeds of less force will be obstructed in their [recompensatory] operation by other deeds of greater force ; for, it is impossible that the fruits of deeds of opposite tendencies should begin at one and the same time. And [the opposition arises because] different deeds have a fitness to be experienced in different existences (*jātyantaropabhogayogyam*). Therefore, they cannot, merely from

10. ŚBh. on 3.1.8, p. 538 : *sampāta-śabdenātra karmāśaya ucyate, sampatanty anenāsmal lokād amuṇi lokān phalopabhogāyeti...tasmānnirānuśayā ava rohanānti...*

11. The reference is to BrArUp. 4.4.6 : *prāpyāntaṁ karmaṇas tasya yat kiṁ ceha karoty ayam/tasmāl lokāt punar aity asmai lokāya karmaṇe.*

the common factor that their fruits have not begun prior to death, become manifest jointly on the occasion of one single death and bring about one new existence only. For, this may militate against the ordination of different fruits for particular deeds [when they are not fit to be experienced in one and the same birth]¹².

Nor can we maintain that, at the time of death, some [past] deeds manifest themselves while others are altogether annihilated; for, that would contradict the rule of *aikantika-phalatva*, viz., that all actions inevitably have their fruits, and that no deeds can be annihilated except by means of expiatory rites etc., i.e. also by the knowledge of Brahman or by full fruition of their consequences¹³...

Moreover, if all unrequited deeds were to become manifest on the occasion of one and the same death to begin a single new existence only, the consequence would be that, one who is born in the heavenly world or in hell or as an animal, would not have to take to any new forms of existence after that. For, these species do not obtain from the scriptures the entitlement to performance of [ritual] deeds and to enjoyment of fruits thereof. They cannot thus acquire religious merit or demerit, which alone can lead to an entrance into a new (form of existence, i.e.) birth. [It follows that at the end of that particular existence in heaven, hell or in the animal species, all those souls would be liberated once for all, without having made any special effort in that direction]. This would even flout the laying down in the Smṛtis that deeds like the murder of a brahmin require expiation in a number of (i.e. more than one) births¹⁴.

The example of the lamp which the opponent has proposed, could be explained differently also: although a lamp be equally distant from two things, it will manifest both of them only if they are reasonably big; a very tiny thing may not be made clearly visible by that lamp if placed far off, while a bigger thing at the same distance may. Similarly, death also, though serving as a

12. ŚBh. on 3.1.8, p. 542: *yathaiva tarhi prāk prāyaṇāt...pratiniyata-phalatva-virodhāt.*

13. Ibid. p. 542: *nāpi kasyacit karmanāḥ...ucchedaḥ sambhāvyaṭe.*

14. Ibid. p. 543: *yadi ca kṛtsnam anarabdhā-phalaṁ karma...smaryamāṇam uparudhyeta.*

common cause that allows accumulated deeds to manifest themselves upon exhaustion of *prārabdha* deeds, cannot do so indiscriminately. It shall allow first the [fruitful] operation of the strong deeds (i.e. those deserving recompense in yonder world soon after death)¹⁵. It follows that when these are exhausted, the impact of the remaining deeds [-weaker earlier but strong now-] will lead the soul along a decent from the lunar world to the required rebirth upon the earth. A clear reference to such a remainder is found in Āpastamba Dharmasūtra 2.1.2.3¹⁶. It is [these] remaining deeds (—comprising both merit and demerit—) that are called *anuśaya* (remainder) in BrS. 3.1.8 and *carāṇa* in ChUp. 5.10.7 (*carāṇa śabdenānuśayaḥ śucyate*), following ŚBr. on BrS. 3.1.8. Although the word *carāṇa* is generally known to mean 'conduct', its use in the said passage has a secondary signification of *anuśaya* (i.e. remaining deeds which require a recompense here on earth in a new birth as against those that require it to be in the other world¹⁷; since, after all, one's deeds are conditioned by one's conduct or character : Such was the view expressed by one Ācārya Kārṣṇājini¹⁸, while Ācārya Bādari rejected any need whatsoever of resorting to *lakṣaṇa*, declaring that *carāṇa* directly meant good or bad deeds¹⁹.

2.2. Deussen (SysVed. : p. 390-1) regards the strong vs. weak differentiation of deeds by Ś. as merely quantitative, and hence not satisfactory basis for dividing deeds into those requiring recompense in the beyond and others in a rebirth upon earth. He himself is in favour of a qualitative differentiation "between ritual and moral works, the former being recompensed in the Beyond, the latter in the new career on earth". Deussen opines that a similar distinction was being attempted by some even in the days of Bādarāyaṇa ; but

15. Ibid. p. 543 : *pradīpopanyāso'pi...na durbalasyeti*.

16. It reads : *varṇā ṁśramāśca śvakarma-niṣṭhāḥ pretya karmaphalam anubhūya tataḥ śeṣeṇa viśiṣṭadeśajāti-kularūpāyuhśruta-vitta-sukha-medhaso janma pratipadyante*.

17. Cf. ibid. p. 541 : *tasmād āmuṣmīkaphale karmajāta upabhukte' vaśiṣṭam-aiḥhika-phalam karmāntara-jātam anuśayaḥ tadvanto'varohantīti*. Cf. here Bhāskarabhāṣya (on 3.1.8, p. 154 : line 19) : *kartāram anuśete phalopabhogāya yat tad iti anuśayaḥ karma*.

18. Cf. BrS. 3.1.9-10 : *carāṇād iti cen-nopalakṣaṇārtheṣu kārṣṇājiniḥ. anarthakyaṃ iti cen-na, tad-apekṣatvāt*.

19. Cf. ibid. 3.1.11 : *sukṛta-duṣkṛte eveti bādariḥ and comms. thereon*.

authorities of the Vedānta school (e.g. Ācārya Kārṣṇājini and Bādari) had rejected this, without being able to come to a complete mutual agreement on this point.

2.2A. However, if we scan ŚBh. 3.1.8-11 very minutely, we find that Ś. did have in mind the sort of qualitative distinction that Deussen himself favours : while discussing what *anuśaya* (the residue of deeds determining rebirth) really is, he rejects the view (similar to the ritual conception of *sampāta* accepted by Deussen) that the said *anuśaya* is a remainder of the self same aggregate of deeds which qualifies the soul for [enjoyment in] heaven. This *prima facie* view has been supported by pointing out to two analogies : (a) that of a remnant of viscous fluid clinging to the vessel even when most of it is drained out ; and (b) that of a wandering knight who had come well-provided to the king's court, but can stay there no longer when his outfit has dwindled down to an umbrella and shoes. Similarly, it is argued, even if the purpose of an ascent to the moon is the enjoyment of the fruit of worthy deeds to their very last, yet a continuance there becomes impossible when the residue of works has become very small indeed. (This residue then, will survive as a remainder while descending and will determine the quality of the future birth of the particular soul²⁰).

2.2B. Ś. finds these arguments inappropriate ; one of his reasons is *kārya-virodhitvat*, i.e. 'because the law of the effect is contradicted' if it is believed that the heavenly deeds, whose fruits have been enjoyed already, can still have a lingering remnant²¹. The analogies cited by the opponents to support their other point [— that, not all the fruits of deed deserving recompense in heaven are really enjoyed in heaven—] appear unattractive (*apeśala*) to Ś. For, that would contradict the scripture which characterises them as bearing fruit in heaven (*svarga-phala*) [and makes no mention of a residue of these]²². Moreover, a remainder of such deeds could only be a meritorious or fair (*ramaṇīya*) one ; hence, it would only

20. Vide ŚBh. on 3.1.8, p. 540 : *svargārthasya karmaṇaḥ .. avasthātum śaknotīti*.

21. Ibid. p. 540 : *na caitad yuktam iya. na hi svargārthasya karmaṇo bhuktaphalasyāvaśeṣānuvṛttir upapadyate. kāryavirodhitvat...*

22. Ibid. p. 540-1 : *nanvetad apyuktam : na svargaphalasya karmaṇo nikhilasya ... svargaphalatvaṁ-śāstra-virodhāt.*

explain rebirth in a fair/happy form, not the one in an unhappy form which also is mentioned in ChUp. 5.10.7²³.

A very important expression of Ś. in the above context is : *yadi hi yena sukr̥tena karmaṇa iṣṭadinā svargam anvabhūvan, tasyaiva kaścīd ekadeśo'nuśayaḥ kalpyeta...* (=if *anuśaya* were imagined to be some portion of the very same pious deeds of the type of sacrifice etc., whereby the souls experienced [the joys of] heaven...). This certainly implies that, according to Ś., *iṣṭa* etc. was the type of karmic aggregate that bore fruit in the other world while those deeds that served as a remainder to be retributed in this world (on earth) (vide fn. 17 for the citation) were different from others qualitatively also ; not merely quantitatively in terms of strength and weakness, as it seemed from his discussion about the relative operational order of deeds after death. [Note that, textually speaking, these latter references occur later than the above qualitative distinction]. Similar references are found also in other comms. on BrS. 3.1.8. Thus Vedāntakaustubha : *svargam uddiśyānuṣṭhitam yad yagādi...*; Govindabhāṣya : *cāndraloke sukhābhogāya yat karma kṛtam tasyeṣṭadeḥ...*; Śrīkarabhāṣya : *kevaleṣṭāpūrta-datta-karmaṇāṃ dhūmadi-pitṛyāṇa-mārgena...svargābhogam anubhūya . ;* cf. also Bhāskarabhāṣya here²⁴.

2.2.B (i). This mention of *iṣṭādi* noted above compels us to have a close look at the Upaniṣadic passages dealing with *Pitṛyāṇa* and *Devayāna* to search if some answer could be found for Deussen's charge against these (2.1 (i) above). What do we find ? ChUp. 5.10.1-2 mentions knowledge of the 'Five Fires', Faith and Penance as prerequisites for entitlement to *Devayāna*, while BrĀrUp. 6.2.15 substitutes Truth in place of penance here—it regards penance, charity and (ritual) sacrifice as winning (other) worlds for a soul along the second path, i.e. *Pitṛyāṇa*²⁵. The corresponding ChUp.

23. Ibid. p. 541 : *yadi hi yena sukr̥tena ... kapūyacaraṇāḥ iti.*

24. It (=Bhāskarabhāṣya on 3.1.8) reads ; *yāvad āmuṣmīkaphalam karma tat sarvam tattraiva kṣapayitvā avaśiṣṭenaihi kaphalena japahomadānādināvarohantīti.*

25. BrĀrUp. 6.2.15 : *te ya evam etad vidur ye cāmī aranye śraddhām satyam upāsate te arcir abhisambhavanti ... teṣāṃ na punarāvṛtīḥ.* And ibid. 16 : *atha ye yajñena dānena tapasā lokāṇi jayanti te dhūmam abhisambhavanti...pitṛlokāc-candramasam.*

passage (5.10. 3-4), prescribes *Pitryāna* for 'those who, [living] in the village (i.e. not renouncing householdership), practise charity as (=for in the form of) sacrifices and [other pious] works of public utility'²⁶. It could be inferred from all this that deeds deserving recompense in the lunar sphere, according to PJ, are merely those 'specifically prescribed' pious deeds which involve charity for the public good or rituals for propitiating the gods: The usual/obligatory ones (*nitya*), the (*naimittika* :) occasional/conditional ones, and the motivated (*kāmya*) ones.

In one's lifetime, however, an individual performs innumerable other deeds also: may be the forbidden evil ones or may be certain noble acts performed on impulse, irrespective of their being *outside* the realm of prescribed (obligatory, occasional or motivated) deeds²⁷. Since all these are not 'prescribed' by scriptures, the realm of their recompense must certainly be different from the heavenly worlds meant for 'prescribed deeds'; i.e. it must be this very earth. It is, with some such distinction in his mind that Ś. speaks of *aihi-kaphala anuśaya* as against *amuṣmika-kaphala iṣṭādi* in the course of his discussion on the real nature of residual deeds in ŚBh. 3.1.8 (vide 2.2B above). The term *anuśaya* (remainder) used for this second type of deeds poses no problem such as the necessity of part of these being retributed in the beyond; because, it refers to the remainder of deeds as a whole and not to the remainder of a particular subtype of deeds²⁸.

This, then, is the meaning of *caraṇa* of ChUp. 5.10.7, and it is not a very far-fetched or impossible one. To the justification of its interpretation by the Vedāntins (cf. fn. 7) may be added the point that *caraṇa*, meaning literally the conduct, and acting almost as a synonym for behaviour (*cāritra*), character (*śīla*) or way of life

26. Cf. ChUp. 5.10. 3-4: *atha ya ime grāma iṣṭāpūrte dattam ity upāsate. te dhūmam abhisambhavanti ... ākaśāc candramasam. Ibid. 1-2 for Devayāna: tad ya ittham viduḥ ye ceme'raṇye śraddhā tapa ity upāsate. te'rciṣam abhisambhavanti ... eṣa devayānaḥ panthā iti.*

27. Cf. here ŚBh. on 4.3.14 (p. 838, lines 16-19): *na ca asati samyag-darśane ... sūksmāparādhā-darśanat*. It says: "(Moreover) no man who has not attained perfect knowledge, can be sure that, with his whole self, from birth to death he has avoided all forbidden practices and those aiming at enjoyment, (for even in the most perfect, small lapses can be perceived)..."

28. Cf. DaśaUp. 1. 230 (on ChUp. 5.10.5): *nanviṣṭāpūrtadattavyatire-keṣūpi...aviruddhaḥ.*

(*acara*), is something spontaneous and self-willed as against the performance of deeds in conformation with scriptural prescriptions. This point of distinction is very important in justifying the flawlessness of its conception as a residue after the prescribed deeds have been recompensed in stipulated 'yonder' worlds, and consequently, in averting the charge of a double retribution of deeds in the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta.

2.3. One might still argue that, in accordance with the use of the term *sampāta* in ritual contexts, the meaning of *yāvat-sampātam* given by Deussen (1.1 above) and his consequent charge of the contingency of a double retribution still stands. More so, because the Vedāntins do not seem to be totally unanimous on the interpretation of that phrase (vide 1.1 A-B above). My suggestion in this connection is to avoid all such far-fetched interpretations of *sampāta* and resort to its basic elements *sam*+ $\sqrt{pat}$, meaning 'swift descent or fall' (vide MW, p. 1171, column 3, on basis of some occurrences in the Mahābhārata). Accordingly, *tasmin yāvat-sampātam uṣitva* would mean : 'having stayed there (=on the moon) till the time of descent [comes]'. And, as such time would evidently come only upon the exhaustion of deeds deserving reward in the lunar sphere, there would be no need to wait until all of an individual's deeds (-good or bad-) are necessarily requitted in the other world. This last approach thus explains the concept of *sampāta* satisfactorily, without involving much cumbersome postulation, and yet absolves the concerned Upaniṣadic passage from the charge of discrepancy and a postulation of double retribution.

Conclusion :

The foregoing discussions make it clear that :—

(1) The ChUp. version of PJ's doctrine concerning the *Pitṛyāna* did apparently postulate a qualitative difference between deeds to be recompensed in the "beyond" (: on the one hand, meritorious deeds 'specifically prescribed' along with the mention of felicitations in other worlds as the fruit thereof); and on the other hand, non-specified good/bad deeds determined by one's individual character (*caraṇa*) to be recompensed in a future rebirth on this earth, (vide section 2.2B).

(1a) Vedantins made a similar distinction too, although they worded it variously (some even identified the former type of deeds as being the intended meaning of *sampata* in ChUP. 5.10.5 : see 1.1B). An undisputable interpretation of this term is, however, offered in section 2.3 above.

(1b) To the above qualitative distinction, ŚBh. 3.1.8 further added a quantitative dimension of stronger vs. weaker deeds, i.e. those requiring retribution soon after death (in the other world) and others that would have to wait longer (upto rebirth on earth) for their fruition. It may be noted that as Deussen (SysVed. : pp. 390-91) appears to suggest, this is the only dichotomy proposed by Ś. In fact, however, this is an additional dichotomy, proposed to support the earlier qualitative one and to establish the plausibility of a residue of deeds even after enjoyment in the world beyond (: vide sections 2.1B and 2.2B above).

(2) The two fold above distinctions between deeds facilitate the doctrine of the retribution of certain deeds in the world beyond and yet the remainder of certain other types of deeds serving to determine the soul's next birth upon descending on to the earth. There is no question, therefore, of a full recompense of all deeds in the lunar world and a further recompense of the same upon earth.

Deussen's criticism of the relevant Upaniṣadic and Vedāntic passages to this effect arises from the fact that he takes for granted the total acceptance of the Samhitā age concept of wholesale total retribution in the worlds of Yama or darkness for the good and evil beings respectively, even in case of the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta, when they refer to 'other worlds'. One should note, however, that we no longer find mention of the world of Yama as the place of enjoyment, nor do we read of suffering in yonder world, at least so far as the Upaniṣadic doctrine of PJ is concerned. All these changes are significant. They point out that the Upaniṣadic sage was trying to synthesize the Vedic doctrine of retribution in yonder world with the novel one of retribution in a new birth on earth by postulating, indeed, two different sets or types of deeds as determining the two types of retributions (vide conclusion (1) above).

If only all this had been expressed by PJ in clearer terms, Deussen would have had no reason to criticise PJ's teachings

as he has done (vide 2.1 (i) above). But then, cryptic expression has been the very nature of all the Upaniṣads which were proposed as esoteric (confidential) impartings of a teacher to a tested and trusted pupil only ; they were not meant for wide publicity or common perusal by all and sundry. And hence, perhaps, they were often made cryptic deliberately.

(3a) Deussen's charge in 2.1 (ii) may be accepted in a general way, since the Vedāntins, who profess acceptance of revealed texts pertaining to the end of the Vedic age (*Veda-anta*) as the highest authority, naturally have to try and accommodate even conflicting Upaniṣadic statements pertaining to a single topic. Such an effort might often have incurred inconsistencies in their system ; but, in the present context of PJ's doctrine, this criticism does not apply. For, as demonstrated in the present paper, they have tried to reconcile the two versions as also the apparent contradiction between ChUp. 5.10.5 and 7 in an able and ingenious manner. Only, a little more clarification was required here and there, which has been supplied by the author of this paper (cf. above 2.2B (i), 2.3, and this last concluding section).

(3b) Deussen's charge against the Vedānta in section 2.1 (iii) above is a virtual transfer of his charge against the Upaniṣads in 2.1 (i) ; hence, an answer to it can be found in conclusion (2) above.

(4) It follows from all the above discussions that the Upaniṣadic doctrine of PJ or the Vedānta system cannot be accused of proposing a double retribution of deeds.

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THE DOCTRINE OF KARMA AND PHALITA JYOTIṢA

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The Sanskrit word *jyotiṣa* means both astronomy as well as astrology. To distinguish between the two, astronomy is called *gaṇita jyotiṣa* and astrology *phalita jyotiṣa*, that is, which deals with the fruits or consequences. We propose to study the relationship between the doctrine of karma and *phalita jyotiṣa* or astrology.

Indian astrology is divided into three main branches :—

(a) *Samhita*, which deals with general astrology or natural astrology, that is the prediction about the influence of natural phenomena like equinoxes, eclipses, planetary conjunctions, on masses of people, nations, social groups or regions. Natural astrology also covers omnia, celestials, humans, animals and plants.

(b) *Horāśāstra*, which is concerned with predictions of future of an individual with reference to the configuration of stars-planets, lunar (*nakṣatras*) and solar constellations (*raśi*) at the time of birth of an individual. This is also called genethliology or natal astrology.

(c) *Tajika*, is the technique of determining *varṣa phala*, the likely prospects in a year. This interprets a persons' future in a particular year on the basis of the birth planets occupying favourable houses *gṛhas*, *bhavas* of the solar zodiac in that year.

Other important forms of astrology are :—

(i) Catarchic astrology which determines whether a particular day or time chosen for doing any action will be conducive to the success of that action, that is, *muhūrta* or astrologically auspicious moment or time for performing any act or karma.

(ii) Interrogatory astrology called *praśna jyotiṣa*. In this technique the likely success or failure of any action is sought to be forecast on the basis of the *lagna* (ascendant) at the time of doing a particular work and the *praśna kundali* (horoscope at the moment of the question) prepared therefrom.

Importance of astrologers in ancient India.

The importance of astrologers was recognised in ancient India. Gautamadharmasūtra¹ XI. 15 says that the king should abide by the advice of *jyotiṣī* (astrologer) and he who can read omen signs is called *devotpātacintaka*. Garga cited by Varāhamihira in his *Brhat saṁhitā*² (BS.) II. 6 and 8 proclaims the importance of astrologers. "The king who does not honour a scholar accomplished in horoscopy and astronomy, clever in all branches and accessories comes to grief" (6). Again "As the night without a light, as the sky without a sun, so is a king without an astrologer ; like a blind man he erreth on the road" (8).

Varāhamihira in BS. II. 13 recommends that the Brahmin who has studied and fully understands this discipline should be honoured as a chief guest in a *śraddha* (an act of reverential homage to a deceased person performed by relatives). BS. II. 10 again emphasises "A king who aspires for victory, prosperity, enjoyments, and spiritual progress ought to employ the best astrologer who is well versed in the science". BS. II. 11 says "One who wishes for prosperity ought not to reside in a country which does not possess a good astrologer".

The Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa³ (10th or 11th c. A.D.) 2. 1. 2-5 states that "A king without an astrologer is like a boy without a father".

Yogaratanākara (a medical text) I. 4 equates an astrologer (*daivajña*) with a medical doctor, *purohita* (family priest) and king's

1. G. Bühler, *The Sacred laws of the Āryas*, pt. I, S.B.E., vol. I, Delhi, 1965.

2. V.S. Sastri, Bangalore, 1947.

3. Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 2.5.5 provides negative evidence of the *nakṣatras* and *grahas* as sources of success. It emphasises that the Atharvaveda mantras give success in everything and success is not given by, *inter alia*, *nakṣatras* and planets : *na tithirna ca nakṣatram na graho na ca candramāḥ, atharvamantra-saṁprāptiṃ sarvasiddhirbhaviṣyati*. C.M. Bolling & J. V. Negelin, Leipzig, 1905. BS. 85.5. says that the omens also reveal the working of the law of karma—*anyajanmāntarakṛtām karma punisām śubhāśubham, yattasya śakunaḥ pākam niyedayati gacchatam*.

minister and asserts that one's prosperity increases if one were to see these people in the morning.

The terms used in Sanskrit for an astrologer also signify his great importance. He is called *daivacintaka*, reflecting on fate ; *daivajña* knowing fate or mending destinies. An astrologer or *jyotiṣi* is endowed with divine and superhuman function of prediction. An astrologer is also called *nimittavid* meaning omen-knower, and *nimittakāra* meaning deity or the agent in creation. Thus astrology was equated with divine knowledge and the astrologer as one who knows the working of the divine force, or the divine will.

The Indian scholars and astrologers maintained that the *grahas* (planets) merely revealed or presaged the working out of the previous *karmāṇi* of an individual. Yājñavalkya 1. 349, says "success in undertaking is dependent on *daiva* and human effort, out of these *daiva* is really human effort of previous lives made manifest (in this life)". The Vṛddhayavanajataka 1.3 says :

*vā pūrvakarma-prabhavasya dhatri dhatrā lalāṣe likhita praśastiḥ,
taṁ śāstrametatprakaṣaṁ vidhatte dīpo yathā vastu-ghanandhakāre.*

The results of former actions, which the creator has written on the forehead, are made manifest by this philosophical text (on astrology) as a lamp illuminates objects hidden in darkness.

Varāhamihira in Bṛhajjataka⁴ (BJ.) 1.3 while dealing with zodiacal signs says :

*karmārjitaṁ pūrvabhavē sadādi yattasya paktiṁ samabhivyā-
nakti* ; the zodiacal signs represent the maturing or fruition of all good and bad actions, done or accumulated in previous existences.

Laghujataka⁵ 1.3 of Varāhamihira says :

*yadupacitamanyajanmani śubhāśubhaṁ tasya karmaṇaḥ prāptiṁ
vyañjayati śāstrametat.*

This *śāstra* reveals or manifests the good and evil effect of accumulated karmas of previous births.

4. Vijñānananda, 2nd ed., New Delhi, 1979.

5. *Horāratnam*, ed. & commented on by H. Chaturvedi, Delhi, 1979, p. 8.

Again BS. XLV. 2 declares "Sins accumulate as a result of wrongful actions committed by man and troubles arise from them as a consequence." The three kinds of portents viz. celestial (*divya*) atmospheric, and terrestrial foreshadow such troubles. Again BS. XLV. 3 emphasises "displeased with the misdeeds of man, the gods create these portents".

Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on BS. XLV. 3 cites Garga "Deities become unfavourable, owing to the wrong doings, to man (*tato apacāro martyāṇām pariyaṇti devataḥ*) and create extraordinary happenings in the sky, in atmospheric region and on the earth...".

Somadeva Sūri in Yaśastilaka⁶ IV. 47 (10th c. A.D.), a Jaina work, also says : "the science (of astrology) reveals the fulfilment, that is, consequences of good and bad *karman* accumulated in another birth in the same manner as a lamp lights up objects in darkness".

Raghunandana⁷ in his Udvāhatattva (p. 125) maintains that the planets only convey that sins were committed in former lives, but they do not themselves produce evil results : *ityanena grahaṇām parvasiddha-pāpabodhakatvamiti na tu pāpajanakatvam*.

The modern practioners and supporters of Indian astrology have elaborated the argument that astrology merely projects the results of previous karmas. It is postulated that when a soul is released from a particular body at death and enters another body with the aid of the *liṅga deha* or *karmaṇa śarīra* (empirical body), it loses all remembrance of the unexhausted, residual, karmas of previous lives. It is *jyotiṣa* (astrology) that enables the connection of the soul in a present body with its previous manifestations being established. In other words, astrology enables a concrete charting of the continuity of birth, death and rebirth through the operation of the law of karma.

6. *Yaśastilakacampū mahākāvya*, ed. by Sunderlal Śāstri, Varanasi, 1971 ; K.K. Handiqui : *Yaśastilaka and Indian culture*, Sholapur, 1949, p. 136 adds that Śrutasaṅgara says in comm that the verse regarding predictive astrology is written at the beginning of horoscopes.

7. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. V, pt. I, Poona, 1974, p. 595.

There is, however, internal evidence to establish, that the astrologers believed that the stars—planets *raśis* (cluster of stars in the solar zodiac), the houses, *grhas* or *bhava* and the *nakṣatras* (lunar constellations) produced good and evil and caused happiness and suffering by themselves and were not merely symptomatic of the working of the law of karma and manifesting the maturing (*vipāka*) of previous karmas.

Yājñavalkya I. 293 states that one obtains the results of one's karmas (*karmanāṃ phalamāpnoti*) after worshipping Vināyaka and *grahas* (planets). Yājñavalkya I. 295 enjoins sacrifice to the *grahas* (*grahayajñam*) for obtaining wealth and peace etc. Yājñavalkya I. 307 says :

*grahadhīnā narendranāmucchrayaḥ patananti ca,
bhāvābhāvau ca jagatas tasmāt pūjyatama grahaḥ.*

Whenever any *graha* is badly placed for an individual, he should worship it. The rise and fall of kings and the creation and destruction of the world are under the control of *grahas*. Hence the *grahas* are to be worshipped most. Again Yājñavalkya I. 308 proclaims "upon the planets are dependent the rise and fall of monarchs ; so also the existence and non-existence of the worlds". Varāhamihira in BS. CIII. 58 is explicit, "when planets are ill placed, a man is belittled... A person though low-born and of reprehensible conduct, becomes respectable in the world when the planets are well-placed in transit". Again BS. CIII. 47 emphasises : "when planets are pleased with man he will have no trouble even if he falls from a great height or enters the midst of sporting snakes". In fact BS.⁸ maintains that the mere presence of an astrologer destroys sin and that he attains the world of Brahman, that is *mokṣa* or emancipation. That Varāhamihira held the planets as possessing inherent property of causation and influencing human destiny will be clear from the fact that he refers

8. BS. II. 29 says that an astrologer sanctifies environment : "...no sin can remain in the place where resides an astrologer..." (*pāpaṃ tatra na vidyate*) Again BS. II. 30 says that an astrologer will never be found in hell ; on the other hand he will attain permanent status in the world of Brahman.

in BS. I. 7 to the various theories of causation such as *pradhāna*, *dravyas*, *kāla*, *svabhāva* etc. and especially *karman* without subscribing to them. In fact he calls these theories as incidental and polemical (BS. I. 8).

The Atharvaveda Jyotiṣa 157-161 maintains "people avert the evils in this world arising from *grahas* and *nakṣatras* by fasts (*upavāsa*), gifts of cows (*gavām dānam*) and offerings to sages (*tarpaṇaiśca manīṣiṇām*).

Yavaneśvara or Sphujidhvaja in his Yavana-jātaka 43. 11-13 says that the yogas of planets and signs (in the horoscope) at the birth of men produce an unalterable destiny (*vidhanam niyatam*) which is called fate (*bhāgya*): this fate (as read from the horoscope) is fixed (*sthira*).

Thus Yājñavalkya and Yavaneśvara consider that the astral bodies, planets, *nakṣatras* and the *rāśis* *per se*, exercise powerful effect on human destiny; they do not derive their power from the karmas of individuals. The practice of observing certain Puraṇic *Vratas*, *tithivratas*, *nakṣatravratas*, *samkrantivratas* (when the sun crosses over from one *rāśi*, house, to another) etc., independent of any horoscopic forecast of impending good or evil on those days for an individual, clearly attests to the belief in the influence exercised by the heavenly bodies on the fate of human beings.⁹ Again astronomical conjunctions like the eclipses of the sun, the moon, *vyatipāta*, *ardhodaya* in the months of Māgha and Pauṣa (new moon falls on a Sunday and the rising constellation is Śrāvaṇa), conjunction of the planet Jupiter and the maghā *nakṣatra*, have a bearing on the sanctity of the *tīrthas*: the sanctity of all waters increases and equals that of the Gaṅgā.¹⁰ This shows that it is believed that the

9. "The lunar day (*tithi*), the asterism (*nakṣatra*) in which a specific lunar day falls, the month (*māsa*), the nature of the fortnight from a lunar stand point (*śukla* or bright & *kṛṣṇa* or dark) and the conjunction of particular *tithis* asterisms and months or week days give importance to a specific *vrata*, which has to begin at the conjunction". *Kṛtyakalpataru of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara*, ed. by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Baroda, 1953, vol. VI, *Vratakāṇḍa*, intro. p. xxv.

10. Ibid. Baroda, 1942, vol. VIII, *Tīrtha Kāṇḍa*, intro. pp. lvi-lvii.

heavenly bodies exercise influence on human destiny. In Vikrama's Adventures¹¹, an astrologer blesses Vikramāditya by invoking the blessings of *navagrahas* thus ; may the Sun grant him heroism, the Moon the position of Indra, Mars—good fortune, Mercury—wisdom, Jupiter—dignity, Venus—happiness, Saturn—peace, Rahu—strength and Ketu—children. No wonder that the medieval work Śāntimayūkha¹² in *Gṛhyajñā* 2-5 ascribes the unfavourable influence of *grahas* and not karmas as the cause of sufferings of heroes of the epics and Puranas : unfavourable aspect of Rāhu made Nala wander over the earth, that of Mars (Maṅgala or Aṅgaraka) led to Rāma being exiled, Moon in the 8th house caused the death of Hiraṇyakaśipu, that of the Sun in the 7th house, caused the fall of Rāvaṇa, that of Jupiter (Guru) in the birth sign or house brought about the death of Duryodhana, that of Mercury (Budha) drove Pāṇdavas to engage in lowly activities, Venus (Uśanasa or Śukra) in the 6th house occasioned the death of Hiraṇyākṣa in battle. In this way and otherways many suffered from *grahadoṣa* malefic planets.

This explains the cult of the worship of *nakṣatras* and *grahas*. It took the form of performance of *śāntis* (propitiatory rites) and *pūjā* (worship).

Yājñavalkya I. 308 proclaims : “By Brahmā a boon has been given to them (planets) : When honoured you will honour”. The *Nakṣatrakālpa* of the Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa¹³ prescribes the ritual of various ceremonies to secure prosperity from the *nakṣatras* I. 12-22, to limit the duration of diseases (I. 33), the ritual of *nakṣatra snāna* (bath on *nakṣatra* days), the mantras for pacification of *nakṣatra* gods I. 37-50.

The practice of *navagraha*, *nakṣatraśānti* and *pūjā* clearly imply that these stellar bodies are believed to exercise evil influence on human destiny and that evil can be averted by propitiating them. The Yājñavalkyasmṛti I. 294,308, the Vaikhāṇasasmārtasūtra IV. 13-14, the Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra, the Matsyapurāṇa 93.1-105, the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 93-105, and other Puranas, the Bṛhadyogayātra

11. F. Edgerton, Harvard, 1926, Story No. 25.

12. Śāntimayūkha quotes *Skandapurāṇa*.

13. Ibid. Bolling and Negelein.

18.1.24 etc. prescribe performance of *navagraha śānti* to precede the performance of various religious rites including marriage, festivals, establishment of images etc. Thus Matsyapurāṇa 93.81 and 228.29 and Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa I. 105.14 emphasise "... just as armour is a protection against the wounds by arrows, so *śānti* (*grahayajña*) is a protection against the strokes of fate (*daivopaghātānam*)¹⁴".

BS. CIII. 48 maintains that the evil eye (*aśubhadṛṣṭi*) of the planets can be averted by various means such as worshipping Brahmins, *śānti*, *japa* (sacred recitation) etc. More importantly the above data establishes that *grahas* and *nakṣatras* were not merely indicators of the results of a person's previous actions ; they influenced human destiny independent of a man's karmas. They were substantively endowed with power (*bala*) of causation and innovation.

It is possible that the belief that gods had their abodes in the *grahas* (planets) and *nakṣatras* might have led to these heavenly bodies being identified with various deities who can be propitiated and supplicated.

Apart from these general observations of the various authors of astrological texts about the powers of the planets, *nakṣatras* etc., the benefic and malefic influence exercised by them are deemed to be their inherent and original property and not a secondary property, derivative of *karmavipāka*, fruition of karmas.

BS. of Varāhamihira attributes original substantive powers (*bala*) of good and evil to astral bodies which strongly affect or influence the life in sub-lunar world as distinct from lives of individuals only, such as meteorological disturbances, epidemics, wars, floods and famine etc. Illustrative examples are given below. Chapter XVII describes *grahayuddha* "planetary wars", *bheda* "occultation, cleaving", *ullekha* "grazing" *aṁsumardana* "clashing of rays" and *apasavya* "passing southwards". These wars affect human destiny. When the *bheda* (occultation) takes place, there will be failure of rains, and discord among friends and big families. At the *ullekha* (grazing) type of war, there will be danger from the clash of arms,

14. P.V. Kane : *ibid.* vol. V, pt. II, pp. 748 and 752, fns. 1199, 1200, 1201 & 1207 and vol. V, pt. I, p. 608, fn. 921.

ministers will be at loggerheads among themselves and there will be a shortage of food. When the third type of war (clashing of rays) takes place, there will be wars among kings and general destruction by sword, disease and famine. BS. XIX describes planetary years and their effects : In the year ruled by the Sun, there will be little rain, the rivers will dry up and crops will be poor. There will be wars of destruction. In the year ruled by Mars the most violent fires will spread out threatening to consume villages, forests and towns. Crowds of men will be ruined by depredation of hordes of robbers and deprived of their properties and cattle...there will be insufficient rain and the crops will wither away and snatched away by robbers ; the people will be affected by various calamities. In the year ruled by Mercury fortune will smile on those who are proficient in the art of jugglery, hypnotism and magic etc. ; everything will thrive, justice will prevail and people will be happy.

Again planets in their transits along the *nakṣatras* may cause havoc. Thus BS. IV. 5 states that when Moon passes through the south of the *nakṣatra* Jyēṣṭhā, Mūla and Pūrva and Uttarāṣāḍhā, there will be destruction of seeds, of aquatic animals and forests and when Moon passes through the south of Viśākhā and Anurādhā, evil effects will follow ; however, if they pass through the middle of Maghā and Viśākhā, beneficial effects will accrue to the world. BS. XXIV, XXV and XXVI describe the evil consequences when Moon is in conjunction with Rohiṇī, Svātī and Aṣāḍhā. In BS. XXVI. 11 it is predicted that evil planets (Mars, Saturn, Rahu and Ketu) posited in Svātī, Uttarāṣāḍhā or Rohiṇī *nakṣatras*, during Moon's conjunction with any of these, cause havoc in the country.

These illustrative examples will show that certain planets and lunar asterisms, in particular locations were believed to cause widespread suffering, calamities and disturbances. There is no suggestion that these were the result of the misdeeds of individuals in their previous births. In fact their macrocosmic nature makes it impossible that they project the consequences of past misdeeds of a microcosm, i.e. human beings.

It will be abundantly clear that the *nakṣatras*, *grahas* etc. have been classified as good and evil as such and exercise their influence accordingly on human destiny because of their own inherent qualities.

They are not merely symptomatic or indicative of the working of the law of karma. The astral bodies do not derive their baneful and beneficent properties from karmas of individuals.

There are also broader considerations for holding that the astrological doctrines run quite contrary to the doctrine of karma.

(a) Time of birth is an erroneous basis for casting horoscopes. According to Indian beliefs a soul takes rebirth at the time of conception or pregnancy and not at the time of birth after gestation, that is, at the termination of pregnancy. Strictly speaking the configuration of stars at the time of conception, which can be worked out with reference to the time and date of birth, is truly relevant than the configuration of stars at the time of birth which, however, in fact, is the basis for casting horoscopes.

Caraka and Suśruta are unambiguous on the time of conception being relevant. Caraka in his *Saṁhitā*¹⁵ (CS.) in *Śarīrasthāna* II. 26-27 and 33 says that the foetus is made up of four *mahābhūtas* derived from mother, father, food and those accompanying the soul which enters into the foetus. "Again the same text attributes abnormality in foetus to, *inter alia*, the past actions associated with the soul (*atmakarmāśaya*). The soul, according to CS. *Śarīrasthāna* II. 31, transmigrates from one body to another and is guided by the associated past action (*karmātmakatvāna*). "The four *bhūtas* which get fused with the soul to enter into the foetus are the products of the past actions" (*bhūtāni catvāri tu karmajāni yānyātmalīlāni viśanti garbham* II. 35).

The *Suśrutasaṁhitā*¹⁶ (SS.) confirms Caraka. In SS. *Śarīrasthāna* III. 4 it is explained that the soul (*atma*) with the *pañcabhūtas* (five subtle elements) acquires qualities of *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas* in the foetus at the time of conception and eventually issues from the uterus "in the shape of god, animal, monster as determined by the acts on the former existence". It is this *atma* which regulates knowledge, span of life and happiness and suffering etc., (III-31).

15. R. K. Sharma and Bhagawan Dass, vol. II, Varanasi, 1977.

16. Jadavji Trikamji Acharya, 4th ed., Varanasi, 1980.

The Kāśyapasamhitā or Vṛddhajīvakiyatantram IV *Garbhavakrantīśarirādhyaḥ*. 3 asserts that the *jīva* (soul) being intelligent does not take rebirth (conception) in any form of existence; it is conceived in different forms of existence according to its previous karmas.

These texts conclusively establish that it is the *atma* with its corpus of unexhausted karmas at the time of conception that determines the birth and its subsequent life and experiences.

In fact the moment of conception is the beginning of the maturing of *prarabdhakarmas* as any disorders, disabilities and ailments etc. that a new-born might suffer from at the time of birth are due to his or her previous karmas.

The impossibility of determining the precise time of conception in our present state of knowledge is no ground for adopting an alternative which is patently unsatisfactory and inconsistent with Indian religious beliefs and medical theories about conception and karmas.

It should be abundantly clear that according to *Āyurveda*, the time of conception, as distinct from the time of birth is relevant for the corpus of past karmas. This makes the casting of horoscope with reference to the configuration of stars at the time of birth as totally contrary to the doctrine of karma and rebirth.

(b) The astrological prediction does not identify the past karmas with the predicted future results. In fact no specific link is established between karmas and *karma vipāka*. The only reference to previous birth can be seen in BS. II. 14 and the *daśa* system of astrology. The BS. mentions that the *horaśāstra* (horoscopic astrology) enables ascertainment of the region to which the deceased belonged in his previous birth and the region to which he goes after death : The *daśa* system (*mahadaśa* and *antardaśa*) merely helps in ascertaining the time when the good or bad effects of the planets and stars as per the birth chart will actually manifest themselves. In this system (i) a fixed period of influence is assigned to each planet (ii) the order in which the planets exercise influence is laid down : Ketu, Venus, Sun, Moon, Rāhu, Jupiter, Saturn and Mercury. The effective period of influence of the planet in the first *mahadaśa* is worked out with reference to the relative position of that planet to

the *nakṣatra* and the *rāśi* in the zodiac ; the balance of the non-effective period is deemed to have been the period of life exhausted by the individual in his previous existence. But this does not amount to a clear adoption of the doctrine of previous existence ; it merely accounts for the balance of the period of planetary influence, which has already run out in terms of the chain of life and death, *punarjanman*. There is no bearing of the expired period of the planets on the future¹⁷.

As regards future births, the *Yavanajātaka*¹⁸ of *Yavaneśvara* or *Sphujidhvaja* (YJ.) and BJ. XXV establish a more definitive relationship between the position of the planets in the sixth, seventh and eighth houses and rebirth. The YJ. 42.22 states that the future course (*gati pravṛtti*) of the soul after the death of an individual depends on (the various results of) the houses occupied by the planets. YJ. 43.1 asserts that it is the planetary lord of the 6th, 7th or 8th house or the south of these houses which determines the migration of a soul after death. YJ. 43. 2-9 mentions that four courses are open to such a soul and it is the particular planet, benefic or malefic, the house or sign it is occupying and whether it is in exaltation or dejection and in a friend's or enemy's house, which determine the future abode of the soul : *sūryaloka*, abode of the Sun, *svarga* (heaven), birth as *yakṣa*, *asura* and *rākṣasa*, birth in *manuṣyaloka* (world of men), and in *tiryaggati* (world of animals). The YJ. 43.3 does say that when a man dies, his own qualities (*svaguṇa*) determine the various *jāti*s¹⁹ (species), *akṛti* (features) and *liṅga* (sex). *Svaguṇa* means personal qualities or merits and not karma. More importantly YJ. 43.7 asserts that birth in a particular species (*jāti utpatti*) depends on the signs and the planets occupying them. The BJ. XXV.13 refers the reader to the works on horoscopy of *Prthuyāśas* for obtaining a knowledge of the previous and future incarnations. The BJ. XXV. 14 traces the previous existence of an

17. It should be noted that the *daśa* system of astrology or *pinḍayurdāya* was, as pointed out by Pingree, derived from the Greeks but the corresponding Greek system of astrology based on planetary periods are entirely independent of any belief in rebirth and previous existences. David Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, vol. II, Harvard, 1978, pp. 334-339.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid. vol. II, translates the word *jāti* as caste.

individual in *devaloka*, *pitṛloka*, the world of lower animals and hell with reference to a specific location (decanates) of planets in the zodiac ; likewise (BJ. XXV.15) predicts the future state of birth of an individual. Whereas in the later developments of the doctrine of karma, specific states of existence, bodily deformities and diseases etc. are traced to specific previous karmas, in astrology the previous and future states of existence are traced to the influence of various planets in particular configurations ; while it is claimed that the stars make manifest the operation of the law of karma in future, they are not identified with any specific good and evil acts whose consequences they subsequently manifest.

As mentioned earlier YJ. 43.11-13 explains that the *daśāyogas*, that is conjunctions of planets and signs at the time of birth, in birth horoscope produce (*prasūtau*) unalterable fate or destiny (*vidhānam niyatam*) ; the birth horoscope (*jātaka*) based on the position of the birth planets from time to time (*aṣṭakavarga*) predicts what is certain (*niścitam*) or ordained (to happen) in the course of time (*kalakrama*). The prediction with reference to *daśā* is fixed (*sthira*) whereas the *aṣṭakavarga* horoscope gives predictions which are based on times at which it is cast *utpatika samjñitam*.

Bhṭṭotpala in his commentary calls *daśāphala* as predicting the results of *dr̥ḍha* (strong) karma and *aṣṭakavarga* horoscope as indicating the consequences of *adr̥ḍha* (weak) karma.

Balabhadra in his *Horāśāstram* 36 classifies these predictions based on *jātaka* and *aṣṭakavarga* as *dr̥ḍha mūlaka* and *adr̥ḍhamūlaka*. In other words the consequences of previous karmas, as gleaned from the birth horoscope, *daśāphala*, were not only strong but came to acquire the characteristic of unalterable or fixed karmas and must be experienced whereas the *aṣṭakavargaphala* were weak and so alterable. Further the periods in which the effects produced by (i) the transit of planets are specified in (BS. XCVII. 1-3) and (ii) the eight lunar asterisms are set out in XCVII. 14-16. BS. XLVIII. 1-3 states that good or bad effects of asterisms are equal to the number of stars in each constellation (e.g. *Āśvinī* has 3 stars whereas *Śatabhiṣaj* has 100) ; in the case of marriage, the good and bad effects of an asterism on marriage will be felt in as many

years as there are stars in it, and in respect of a fever or some other disease, the effects will disappear in so many days. In the doctrine of karma, however, the period in which the karmas fructify, *karma-vipaka* is a mystery. Thus astrology makes a departure from the doctrine of karma.

(c) Catarchic or Electional Astrology or *muhūrta*²⁰ was another device to circumvent the evil influence of the planets and stars indicated by the horoscopic chart. It has been claimed "Horoscopy is diagnostic, *muhūrta* is prescriptive as well as preventive"²¹. If a particular configuration of stars and conjunction of planets at the time of birth of an individual could adversely affect his destiny, then it was feasible to select another, a different, moment when the configuration of heavenly bodies was favourable and hence ensured success of any venture or activity undertaken at that point of time. If the configuration of heavenly bodies at the time of birth determines a man's fate—length of life, death, marriage, health, wealth etc. *ipso facto* different moments of time can be selected which are astrologically auspicious for the success of the activities done in those moments of time. Hence various religious ceremonies and secular acts like commencement of journey on travel, purchase or sale of stocks and animals, wearing of new clothes, construction of a house are to be done at the proper *muhūrta*, astrologically auspicious time. *Muhūrtaśāstra* is the natural outcome of horoscopic astrology and renders the doctrine of karma of good and evil deeds leading to good and evil results as redundant: *śubhamuhūrta* astrologically auspicious moment replaces *śubhakarma*; good deed. In fact the moral content of actions becomes irrelevant; *muhūrtas* are determined for the success of patently evil acts: performance of black magic, for committing theft²², and amoral acts like shaving. Thus in astrology auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of certain times for the performance of any act has no relation to the nature of that action, and the fruit of that act; success or failure, is not dependent upon its ethical character. In short *muhūrtaśāstra* totally repudiates *karmasiddhanta*.

20. Kane, *ibid.* vol. V, pt. I, pp. 556-557 and p. 543 fn. 798.

21. B.V. Raman, *Muhūrtha or Electional astrology*, 6th ed., Bangalore, 1979.

22: Kane, *ibid.*, vol. V, pt. I, pp. 558 and 626.

(d) The law of karma is universal in its application. It is impersonal and objective. But the planets and *nakṣatras* and *raśis* or signs (zodiacal cluster of stars) are benevolent and malvolent, friendly and unfriendly, whose influence varies with their configuration and locations in violation of all physical laws and who respond to pacificatory and propitiatory rites. Electional astrology enables a man to choose the most advantageous point of time to commit a crime with success. In short the stars are selective and subjective in exercising their influence on human destiny.

The law of karma is partly deterministic and allows scope for free will and human effort. The stars are essentially deterministic. There is thus a fundamental incompatibility between the law of karma and astrology. But the indeterminate character of *karma-vipaka* provided an opening for the acceptance of astrology. Thus Varāhamihira achieved by cutting the Gordian knot by asserting that the stars only foretell the consequences of a person's past karmas.

All Indian philosophical and religious schools, excepting the Carvākas, held that the law of karma was an absolute metaphysical truth. But there was no objective proof of the validity of this law. By establishing an apparent rapprochement between astrology and the law of karma, the votaries of astrology were able to parade as the medium through which the truth manifested itself in advance of it being experienced; the upholders of the law of karma were able to find in astrology an 'objective proof' of the law: it also enabled them to get round karma through *graha* and *nakṣatrapūjā* and *śānti*.

YOGIC CLEANSINGS : THE ŚAṬKARMAS

GIRIDHAR YOGESHWAR

It is not difficult to trace the origin of the other *āṅgas* of Haṭha-yoga like *Āsanas*, *Prāṇāyāma*, *Dhyāna* etc. to Smṛtis, Purāṇas, Tantras and Yoga Upaniṣads etc., but the same is not the case with regard to its purificatory processes—the *śaṭkarmas*. No doubt, the word *śaṭkarmas* occurs in the Tantric texts like *Yoginītantra*, but it is purely indicative of Tantric practices such as *śānti*, *vaśīkaraṇa*, *stambhana*¹ etc., having the least link with *yogic kriyās*. Great wonder, the sole authority on Rājayoga, Patañjali (and even his prominent commentators) nowhere refers to *śaṭkarmas*. Considering *vyādhi*² (disease) as the first and the foremost psychological disturbance (*cittavikṣepa*), Patañjalayogadarśana (PYD.) recommends a purely spiritual-cum-psychological aid, i.e. the *īśvara prañidhāna*³. The scrupulous cleanliness (*śauca*)⁴, the strict yogic observance have no connection with *śaṭkarmas*, albeit later commentators on PYD. like Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha⁵ have wilfully and intentionally endeavoured to prove otherwise, which effort is farfetched and imposed indeed.

One wonders why even the works attributed to the father of Haṭhayoga Gorakṣanātha miss these significant *kriyās*, which in

1. *Yoginītantra*, ed. by Kanhaiya Lal Miśra, Laxmi Venkateśvara Press, Bombay, 2016 VS :

*śāntiśaṣṭyastambhanāni vidveṣoccāṭane tathā,
māraṇaṁ paramēśāni śaṭkarmedaṁ prakīrtitam.* 1.4.3.

2. *Patañjalayogadarśana* (PYD.) 1.30.

3. *Ibid.* 1.23-29.

4. Cf. PYD. 2.32 ; *Yogayājñavalkya* (YY.), ed. by Rāmacandra Śarmā, Sanātana Dharma Press, Murādābād, 1994 VS., 1.68 ; *Trisikhibrahmanopaniṣad* 2.33 ; *Darśanopaniṣad* 1.6, 20-22 ; *Varāhopaniṣad* 5.13 ; *Śāṇḍilyopaniṣad* 1.14 ; (in 'Yoga Upaniṣads', ed. by A. Mahadev Sastri, the Adyar Library, Madras, 1920) ; The *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* (HYP.), 2nd ed. and tr. by Panoram Singh, Bhuvaneśvarī Āśrama, Bahadurganj, Allahabad, 1932 ; 1.17.

5. *athavā yogāṅgānāṁ dhautivastityādiśaṭkarmanāṁ ... anuṣṭhānād
dṛṣṭābhyāsājñānādīti.* *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* (on PYD. 2.28), Chowkhamba Sanskrit Book Depot, Benares, 1911.

fact are the part and parcel of Haṭhayoga. Similarly an important treatise on Bhagavadgītā, the Jñāneśvari, and even the main Yoga Upaniṣads are silent about *ṣaṭkriyās*. Yet it is true that these practices have been quite old. For instance, the technique of *ghṛtaneti* as existing these days appears to be as old as the Budhistic era, for a famous physician of that age, Jivaka employed some practice of that kind to cure the wife of a renowned merchant of the fatal nasal-cum-head disease.⁶ At a place in Śivasamhitā⁷ (ŚiS.), there is a slight passing reference to *dhautiprakṣāḷana*, though in a derogatory sense. In Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati⁸ (SSP.), we find a casual mention of *śaṅkha* *prakṣāḷana* but again in a reproaching style. In Yoga-yājñavalkya⁹ an act somewhat similar to *trāṭaka* has been enlisted. Haṭharatnāvalī and Haṭhasamhitā as quoted in Vācaspatyam¹⁰ also refer to *ṣaṭkarmas*. For the first time in the Haṭhayogic history, it is only in the Gheraṇḍasamhitā¹¹ (GhS.) and Haṭhayogasamhitā¹² (HYS.) that *ṣaṭkarmas* find their due and rightful place, i.e. as the first aid to yoga. Haṭhapradīpikā¹³ though recognises the value of *ṣaṭkarmas* yet it refrains from assigning them any independent status.

6. *atha kho jivako komārabhaccho taṃ pasataṃ sappiṃ nānābhesajjehi nippacitvā seṭṭhibhariyaṃ mañcake uttānaṃ nipajjāpetvā natthuto adāsi. atha kho taṃ sappiṃ natthuto dinnāṃ mukhato uggañchi.* (8.2. lines 12-14). *The Mahāvagga*, ed. by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap, Pāli Publication Board, Bihar Govt., Nālandā, 1956.

7. *Śivasamhitā* (ŚiS.), ed. by Sriśa Chandra Vidyārṇava. The Pāṇini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad, 1923 ; 5.5.

8. *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* and other works (SSP.), ed. by Kalyani Mallik, Poona Oriental Book House, Poona, 1954 ; 6.9.

9. YY. 6.65.

10. *Vācaspatyam* (V.), Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1962 ; pp. 5401-2.

11. *Gheraṇḍa samhitā* (GhS.), ed. and tr. by Sriśa Chandra Vasu, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, 1933 ; 1.9-10 ; also *Gheraṇḍasamhitā* (GhS. K), ed. by Swami Digambaraji and M.L. Gharote, Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla, 1978 ; 1.9-10.

12. *Haṭhayogasamhitā*, ed. by Vivekānanda, Shri Bhārati Dharma Mahā Maṇḍala Office, Benares, 1921 ; p. 3.

13. *Haṭhapradīpikā* (HP.) of Svātmārāma, ed. and tr. by Swami Digambaraji and Raghunātha Shastri Kokaje, Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla, 1970 ; 2.21, 38.

Haṭharatnāvali and ṣaṭkarmasaṅgraha describe good many purificatory exercises¹⁴ but the works themselves are not much old.

Now as seen before, these practices find mention only in Hathayogapradīpikā (HYP.), GhS., HYS. and HR. and are not recorded prior to these texts anywhere. May these be being directly transmittable only in the most secret oral teacher-taught tradition, or because of not being absolutely obligatory, these remained unrecorded in the old texts. Nonetheless, in order to solve this historical riddle, we should not confine ourselves merely to the yogic studies but must have a peep into the Ayurvedic works as well. Ayurveda has certainly influenced and consequently contributed a good deal to the Haṭhayoga school. For instance, in case of physical imbalances and diseases, Haṭhayoga has fully accepted the Ayurvedic theory of *tridoṣa* in principle and practice. While enumerating the benefits of *dhautikarma*, HP.¹⁵ (and similarly HR. and SKS.) guarantees that this practice cures twenty *kapha* diseases. However, it does not name or elaborate those diseases, for which naturally one has to look back to the Ayurvedic texts.¹⁶ Similar is the case with other ailments, described at random.

So far the original source of *ṣaṭkarmas* is concerned, it would be genuine to admit that Haṭhayoga has picked them from the *pañcakarma* of Ayurveda, since both the systems employ them for cleansing and purification of internal organs, especially the alimentary canal. The Ayurvedic *pañcakarmas* namely *vamana* (vomiting), *virecana* (purgative), *vasti* (enema) and *nasyam*¹⁷ (nasal therapy)

14. *Haṭharatnāvali* of Śrīnivāsa, ed. by M. Venkata Reddy, M. Rāmakrishna Reddy, Arthamuru, East Godavari Dist. A.P., 1982 ; 1.25 ; also *Ṣaṭkarmasaṅgrahaḥ* (SKS.), ed. by R.G. Harshe, Kaivalyadhama, 1970 ; V. 15-23.

15. *kāsaśvasapliḥakusṭhaṇi kapharogaṃśca viṃśatiḥ,*
dhautikarmaprabhāveṇa prayāntyeṇa na saṃśayaḥ.

HP. 2.25, also Cf. HR. 1.26, SKS. V. 58.

16. *Śleṣmavikārāṃśca viṃśatimata ūrdhvaṃ vyakhyāsyāmaḥ ; tadyathā—*
tr̥ptiśca, tandrā ca, nidradhikyaṃ ca, staimityaṃ ca, gurugātrātā ca, ālasyaṃ ca...
śvetamūtranetravaracastyaṃ ca ; iti viṃśatiḥ śleṣmavikārāḥ. Carakasamhitā of
Agniveśa, ed. by Ganga Sahaya Pandeya, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office,
Varanasi, 1961 ; 1.20.17, also cf. *Śaraṅgadharasamhitā*, Pandita Pustakalaya,
Kashi, 1950 ; 1.7.119-122.

17. *vamanāṃ recanāṃ nasyaṃ nirūhaścanuvāsanam,*
etāni pañcakarmāṇi kathitāni muniśvaraiḥ.
Śaraṅgadharasamhitā 3.8.63.

have a good many parallels in Haṭhayoga such as *vamana*¹⁸ (*dhauti*), *varisara*,¹⁹ *vasti*²⁰ and *netikriya*²¹. But this similarity cannot be carried too far for the systems vary a great deal otherwise. Further to that, while yogis use only pure water and air for such irrigations, the *pañcakarmas* prescribe medicated solutions instead.²² Moreover the yogis practise them daily for hygienic and preventive purposes, whereas Ayurvedic *pañcakarmas* are resorted to only as therapeutical measures when necessary.²³ *Śaṭkarmas* help in the thorough and perfect cleansing of the internal organs, thereby increasing their tenacity and activity; and once learnt from an expert, can be resorted to with ease sans any fear.

Śaṭkarmas in line with other Hathayogic *aṅgas*, everywhere have the spiritual end in view²⁴—for example *neti* though destroys

*prathamam vamanam paścādvirekaścanuyāsanam,
etāni pañcakarmāṇi nirūho nāvanam tathā.*

Bhāvaprakāśa, ed. by Śaṅkara Vaiśya, Sri Venkateśvara Steam Press, Bombay, 1918 VS., p. 428.

Also for *Virecana*, see *Carakasamhitā* 1.15 f. 7.1f; *Suśrutasamhitā*, ed. by Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya Kavyatīrtha, Nirṇaya Saṅgar Press, Bombay, 1945; 4.33 f; *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgrahaḥ*, ed. by Ganesh Shastri Tarte, Bombay, 1883; 1.27; for *Vamana*—*Caraka* 1.15 f; 7.1.5, 12, 14, 15; *Suśruta* 2.34 f; *Yogaratanākara*, ed. by Brahmaśaṅkara Śāstrī, Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series Office, 1955, p. 150; *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam*, Govardhana Pustakālaya, Mathura, 2013 VS.; 1.18; for *Vasti*—*Caraka* 8.1.27 f, 8.3.8 f; *Suśruta* 2.35-37, 4.35-38; *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam* 1.19; *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgrahaḥ* 1.28, 5.4-6; for *Nasyam*—*Caraka* 1.5.56-63; *Suśruta* 2.40.20 f, 4.40; *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam* 1.20; *Yogaratanākara* p. 154; *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgrahaḥ* 1.29.

18. GhS. 1.39; HYS. p. 10, V. 29; HP. 2.26; SKS. V. 92-94.

19. GhS. 1.17-19; HYS. p. 5, V. 6-7; SKS. V. 87-91, 96.

20. GhS. 1.45-49; HYS. p. 11-12, V. 35-39; SKS. V. 132-147; HR. 1.41-49; HP. 2.27-29.

21. HP. 2.30; GhS. 1.50-51; also cf. *vyutkrama* and *śiṭkrama* GhS. 1.58-59; HYS. p. 12-13, V. 40-41 and pp. 14-15, V. 48-49; SKS. V. 42-43, 55, 67-69; HR. 1.38-40.

22. Cf. *Yoga hygiene simplified* by Yogendra, The Yoga Institute, Santa Cruz, Bombay, 1980, p. 111 ff; also cf. *Yogavidyā*; Bihar School of Yoga, Monghyr, XIX. VI., June 1981, p. 22.

23. Ibid.

24. Cf. GhS. (K.) Intro. p. xi; *Yogamīmāṃsā*, Kaivalyadhama, vol. IX. 2, pp. 6-7.

kaphadoṣas, is said to bestow clairvoyance²⁵ (*divyadṛṣṭi*) and to facilitate *khecari*, which on perfection would lead a higher end (*unmanī*) equated with *rājayoga* or *advaita* or *sahajāvastha* ; *karnādhauti*,²⁶ a physical practice for cleansing the ears, enables the practican to hear the mystical sounds (*nādas*) which are produced in the *suṣuṃṇā* after *nāḍīśuddhi* and ultimately culminates in *manolaya*, leading to emancipation.

Trāṭaka,²⁷ the eliminator of all eye-diseases, induces *divyadṛṣṭi* and helps towards attaining *śāmbhavī mudrā*, which on perfection makes the *sādhaka* identical with *Brahman* ; *vārisāra*²⁸ is said to transform the body into divine form ; whereas *vasti*²⁹ not only cleanses the rectum but invigorates the sense organs as well ; thereby bringing the serenity of mind. The same is true of other yogic practices. Ayurvedic *pañcakarmas*, on the other hand, do not help in spiritual elevation. Even then, we have to conclude that Hāṭhayogic *ṣaṭkarmas* have their original rooting in Ayurvedic *pañcakarmas* and not the vice-versa. As already seen above this conclusion becomes more authentic when we observe the yogic purificatory practices from historical angle.

25. GhS. 1.51 ; HYS. p. 13, V: 41 ; for *Unmanī*, *Rājayoga* etc. cf. HP. 4.3, 4, 47.

26. GhS. 1.33 ; HYS. p. 9, V. 23 ; for *Nada* also cf. HP. 4.68.

27. GhS. 1.54 ; HYS. p. 13, V. 44 ; for *Śāmbhavī* also GhS. 3.67.

28. GhS. 1.18 ; HYS. p. 5, V. 7.

29. HP. 2.29.

NEW TRENDS IN ARCHAEOLOGY

SHANKAR GOYAL

Introduction

Some years ago Robert Maynard Hutchins is said to have described archaeology as 'tool course' that belonged to the curricula of vocational schools and not to those of a university. The then current definitions of archaeology show that this scornful evaluation had some truth. Till then archaeology was isolated, a frog in the well. For example, writing in 1948 Kroeber defined archaeology as the career of humanity as revealed by excavation of the sites of prehistoric occupations. But since then archaeology has made great advance. As pointed out by David L. Clarke in his famous article 'Archaeology: the loss of innocence', it has progressed from the state of noble innocence gradually to the states of consciousness, self-consciousness and critical-self-consciousness. According to Clarke, consciousness is achieved when the discipline is named, and largely defined by specifying its raw material and by pragmatic practice—Archaeology is what archaeologists do. Gradually consciousness develops into self-consciousness with explicit attempts at self-knowledge. It involves efforts to cope with the growing quantity of archaeological data by explicit but debated procedures, concepts and classifications. This development leads to a new level of disciplinary consciousness—critical-self-consciousness—in which attempts are made to control the direction and destiny of the system. If the transition from consciousness to self-consciousness is mainly technical, the transition from self-consciousness to critical self-consciousness is largely philosophical, metaphysical and theoretical.

The stages of development of archaeology as recognised by Daniel and Taylor may serve as a guide in this regard.

1. The first stage of the growth of archaeology (marked by the antiquarianism of the 16th to 18th c. A.D.) was like the 0-2 stage of child's intelligence in Piaget's formula. In this age archaeology was marked by love for antiquarian objects and romanticization of the past which is like the pre-operational child of Piaget to whom

world around is a wonder. In both the cases, no attempt is made to read the meaning of the object before the eye.

2. As an organised quest for knowledge of the past, archaeology is a product of the 19th c. A.D. In this period Boucher de Perthes demonstrated the antiquity of man and Thomsen and others tried to arrange things in a chronological order by their famous, Three Age System, while Pitt Rivers gave the discipline a firm methodology. Thus it was the natural history stage (described below) of archaeology reminding us of the concrete operational child of Piaget.

3. According to Daniel, archaeology became a mature discipline after the First World War. It was the third stage in the growth of archaeology and corresponds to the formal operational child of Piaget. Gordon Childe's (and also of some Americans) works played an important role in this task as :—

(i) For the first time Childe thought about the people and their thoughts and not only about their artifacts. He made the archaeologists to realize that their discipline is not interested in the objects *per se* (in themselves) but in the study of societies which made them—their socio-economic political institutions, material culture and ideology.

(ii) The improvements made by Wheeler and others in techniques of excavation and field survey contributed their share to the process of maturation.

Rise of New Archaeology

New Archaeology of today emerged out of the New Archaeology of 1960s. According to Taylor, the New Archaeology is the practical application of a basic conceptual scheme—the earliest and more or less complete expression of which was his own conjunctive approach. Once we understand the elements of a culture and follow a pattern we get law like formulations about general human behaviour which in turn helps us to understand prehistoric societies. New Archaeology of the 60s has raised the discipline to a more respectable position as a science.

It is different from old archaeology because it is conscious of itself—it is aware of its aims and scope and reflects over its own responsibilities.

It is interested in knowing its own social relevance. It asks itself whether it is really contributing to the understanding of society and, if yes, then in what way. If it contributes something new than there is really some strength in it.

A major item of interest in archaeology is the analysis of its various concepts and expressions such as site, culture, phase, environment etc. Archaeologists are now interested in clearly defining and formulating criteria behind the concepts used by them.

New archaeologists are interested in the analysis of more abstract and higher concepts like probability, causality, explanation, theory etc. Conceptual analysis is a new awareness about archaeological methodology. It is fundamental for knowing how exactly do we know about the past societies.

Another aspect of the growing self-consciousness in New Archaeology is epistemological. How far are we really sure logical in drawing our conclusions? A very close epistemological look at our evidence is needed to be certain of our conclusions.

Employment of scientific method

A proof of the fact that New Archaeology has become a self-conscious discipline, is the employment by it of rigorous scientific research method. Now employment of the scientific method does not mean utilising the technique and researches of geology, geomorphology, new scientific dating methods, etc.; it basically means the adoption of the logic of scientific enquiry. Hempel defines it as the enquiry which seeks to examine "how scientific knowledge is arrived at, how it is supported and how it changes". Johnson describes it as "any method which effectively utilizes the several powers of mind in a systematic, impersonal, non-emotional, unprejudiced effort to discover the origin and relationship of the phenomenon, and the laws which control their manifestation". It is obvious that scientific method is not to be confused with the techniques which a discipline may employ; it refers to methods of reasoning which are common to all sciences. Secondly, scientific method does not consist of any one particular form of reasoning—

inductive or deductive. It embraces both these categories of reasoning.¹

The initiation of enquiry has its origin in Man's tendency to doubt. In the natural history stage one goes to the field and gathers facts relevant for problem analysis. In the third stage, which is the most important stage of scientific method, data obtained in the natural history stage is used, to provide a solution to the problem, which has initiated the enquiry. It is a continuous process in which all the possible hypotheses are tested, their merits and demerits examined.

Archaeological studies in most of the countries, including India, are presently passing through the natural history stage. However, increasing use is now being made of hypothetico-deductive method to study the data provided by the natural history stage. The credit for this must go to Lewis Binford. He was saddened to find that archaeological research has degenerated into making loose and unreliable generalizations about the past. He, therefore, emphasized the need for employing rigorous means of testing such generalizations by hypothetico-deductive method.

From this, one should not get the impression that New Archaeology is concerned only with theory building. The truth is that theory building becomes empty talk unless it is grounded in empirical data. Therefore data collection must go hand in hand with theory building. Secondly, it should be remembered that the scientific method yields no final conclusions. It merely provides probability statements which need constant evaluation.

Conclusion

The employment of the scientific method involves "a critical and self-conscious concern with the kinds of information which archaeological methods might yield about the past". Its use, therefore, is the best proof of the fact that as a discipline archaeology has entered the state of self-consciousness.

1. Broadly speaking all scientific enquiry may be divided into three stages or phases :

- (1) The initiation of enquiry involving a clear formulation of problem.
- (2) The natural history or fact gathering stage and,
- (3) The hypothetico-deductive stage.

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YAWATMAL PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II, YEAR 26

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI AND CHANDRASHEKHAR GUPTA

The two plates published here were rescued by R. M. Saklecha from a copper-smith at Yawatmal, the headquarters of the district of that name in Maharashtra, just when they were about to go to the melting pot. They were acquired by P. P. Kulkarni, Joint Secretary of the Coin Society of Nagpur, who was kind enough to allow us to study and publish them. We thank him sincerely for this gesture.

The plates are rectangular in shape and measure 9.5 cms. high and 19.5 cms. in length. About the middle of the left margin of each of the plates there is a circular hole meant for the passage of the copper ring which held the plates together. When these plates were rescued, the ring and the seal, the latter attached to the former, were missing. Of the two plates, the first bears writing on both sides while the other plate is inscribed only on one, obviously inner, side. Each inscribed face contains six lines, there being in all eighteen lines. The writing is well preserved.

The charter of which these plates form part is incomplete and a comparison with the other Vākāṭaka copper plate inscriptions shows that they represent the second and last plates of the charter respectively. The engraving of these plates is excellent.

The characters belong to the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. They are regular to the period to which they belong and do not call for any special remarks. However, a few interesting features may be noticed here. The joining of the left end of the cross bar and upper end of the left lower limb of the letter *k* resulting from the attempt to write the letter with a single stroke is noticed frequently (see lines 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13 and 14). Subscribed *ch* and *v* are so similar in appearance that it is difficult to distinguish them from one another. *J* is without a box; its upper part is generally smaller in breadth. Sometimes the upper part takes the form of a square as in °*jala*°, line 1; °*hara*ja, line 2; and superscript

j in *satya-arjjava*, line 3, etc. Elsewhere in lines 3 and 4 it has a slight notch in both the upper and lower horizontal lines. *Bh* has generally a short horizontal stroke to right emanating from the lower end of the left limb. The final consonant is without a box and smaller than an ordinary letter (see *t* and *m* in line 10). In medial *a* sign, the vertical line emanating from the right end of the horizontal stroke attached to the right top of the box is fairly long. The medial *ai* in *ṇai* is indicated in a somewhat strange manner; one stroke is attached to the top of the letter and the other to its left lower limb (line 5). *Visarga* has three different forms :

(i) a couple of horizontal lines placed one above the other (lines 6 and 11) ;

(ii) a dot above a horizontal line (line 4) ; and

(iii) a horizontal line above a dot (line 16).

Punctuation marks consist of one (lines 15 and 16) or two (line 17) horizontal lines which are somewhat curved. The sign for *upadhmāṇiya* is met with in lines 7 and 9. We find the numerical symbols for 1 (line 18), 4 (line 18), 6 (line 17), 10 (line 18) and 20 (line 17). The symbol for 6 is noticed for the first time in the Vākāṭaka records and resembles *ph*. In the Vākāṭaka epigraphs we come across two forms of 4. The form found in our record resembles that in 400 in line 20 of the Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II.¹

As regards orthography, occasional reduplication of the consonant following *repha* (e.g. *mūrdhha°*, line 1 ; *°tyārjjava°* and *śauryya°*, line 3 ; *dharmma°*, line 4, etc.) and that of *v* following a real or supposed *anusvāra* (*dattam vva*, line 15 ; *savva*, line 17) and the employment of *anusvara* in place of final *m* (*likhitam*, line 18) are noteworthy.

The charter refers itself to the reign of king Pravarasena II, son and successor of Rudrasena II of the main branch of the Vākāṭakas. Even though these are only two of the four plates of the charter, fortunately not much is lost except only the place of issue (which must have been given on the inner side of the first plate), for the missing plates contained only the initial portion of

1: *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. V, Pl. XII.

the genealogical account and such formal details as privileges and exemptions accompanying the grant. All the important points of historical interest are preserved on the extant plates.

The genealogical account concerning Pravarasena I was accommodated on the first plate which is missing. On the first extant (actually second) plate of our record we find mention of Gautamī-putra, his son Rudrasena I, his son Prīthivīṣeṇa I, his son Rudrasena II and his son and successor Pravarasena II who was born of Prabhavatiguptā, daughter of *Mahārājadhiraṇya* Devagupta (i.e. Chandragupta II Vikramāditya). Their description, which is exactly the same as found in other records of Pravarasena II, need not be repeated here.

The object of the charter is to register the renewal, by Pravarasena II, of the grant of some land together with a couple of house-sites (*niveśana dvayam*) in the village Lāṭakapallī included in the administrative unit called Ṣaḍgr̥śaka. The donees were Indrārya and Svamīdeva who were students of the Taittirīya śakha of the Black Yajurveda and belonged to the Vatsa gotra. It is stated that the land was already being enjoyed by the donees. Even though some portion of the relevant sentence is lost in the missing plate, it appears from the concluding word (though incomplete) on the second side of the first plate that the grant was renewed by means of issuing a copperplate charter (*tamraśasana*), viz. the present plates. The charter was issued on the eleventh day of the fourth fortnight of the summer season in the twenty-sixth year, evidently of Pravarasena II's reign. It was written under the supervision of *Senapati* Bāṇpadeva.

Reference may now be made to a few interesting points concerning the present grant. While numerous copperplate charters of the two branches (Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma) of the Vakāṭakas have been already reported, they all register fresh grants and there is so far not a single instance of the renewal of an earlier grant. In so far as Vakāṭaka epigraphy is concerned, ours is the only known charter aiming not at recording a fresh grant but renewing an earlier grant. It is stated clearly that the land in question was regranted by issuing a copperplate charter only after ascertaining that it was already being enjoyed (i.e. was under continuous possession) by the donees (*pūrvva-bhujyamānika bhūmih*). There is no means to know as to who was the original grantor and why it became necessary to

issue a fresh charter to renew the grant. However, the Kurud plates of the Śarabhapuriya chief Narendra present an interesting parallel. We are told that the original charter written on palm-leaves (*talapatraśāsana*) was burnt in a household conflagration (*grhadaha*), and that after it was ascertained by the usual procedure that the gift village was under uninterrupted enjoyment by the donee's son, it was approved, i. e. renewed, by Narendra by issuing a copperplate charter². We have also some instances where the original copperplate charter was burnt and had consequently to be renewed by later ruling chiefs³. The renewal of the charter in question also must have been necessitated by some similar circumstances.

The royal order regarding land-grants is generally addressed to state officials connected with the village and the administrative division in which it was situated in so far as the Vākāṭaka charters are concerned. But the order about the renewal of the grant in the present charter is addressed to the village as such⁴ which is rather unique and the only one in Vākāṭaka epigraphy⁵.

The present inscription contains a season date. Season dates appear to have been fairly popular in the western Deccan in the early centuries of the Christian era and most of the records in the Buddhist caves of Maharashtra are dated with reference to seasons. Although in later times this system did not retain that much popularity, we have quite a few examples of season dates in Vākāṭaka inscriptions. The Washim plates of Vindhyasena⁶, Dudia and Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II⁷, the two Mandhal charters of Prthivīśeṇa II⁸, and

2. *Tacca tala-patra-śāsana-[m*]grha-dāghe(he) dagdham=ity=adhikarāṇ-āvadhāraṇayā prāk=prabhṛty=avyavaccheda-bhogen-āya[m*] grāmo bhujyata iti.* *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, p. 265, lines 7-9.

3. This is true of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman also.

4. *Ṣaḍgrśake Lāṭakapalyām* (read *Lāṭakapallī*) *grāmo vaktavyaḥ*, lines 10-11.

5. The royal order about the grant made through the Pattan plates of Pravarasena II is addressed to the village headed by the Brāhmaṇas. See *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. V, p. 60, line 21.

6. *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. V, p. 98, lines 28-29.

7. *Ibid.* p. 46, line 28 ; p. 66, lines 28 and 30-31.

8. *Ibid.*

the recently discovered plates of Rudrasena II⁹ are all dated with reference to seasons. It is obvious that the season dates continued in use till at least the close of the Vākāṭaka period.

Another interesting feature is the retention of Prakritism in the date portion, specially in connection with season dates, in some of the Vākāṭaka records even though otherwise they are composed in Sanskrit. It has been, for instance, noticed in the Mandhal plates of Pṛthiviṣeṇa II¹⁰ and in the still later Malhara plates of the Muṇḍaputra king Ādityarāja¹¹. The present plates present yet another example of this feature. In the last two lines of the record we have *sarva* for *saṁvat* and *gi* for *gri* (of *griṣma*).

We have numerous records of Pravarasena dated from the second to the twenty-seventh year of his reign¹². But no record of his twenty-sixth year was known so far. Ours is, thus, the first record of the twenty-sixth year to be reported so far.

We learn from the Siwani and the Wadgaon plates that Bāppadeva was holding the office of *Senapati* in the eighteenth and the twenty-fifth years respectively of the reign of Pravarasena II¹³. The present record shows that he continued to hold this office in the twenty-sixth year also.

Lastly, as regards the localities, the donated village Lāṭakapalli may be identified with the modern village of Ladkhed about twenty miles east of Darwha on the Darwha-Yawatmal road in the Yawatmal District. The place has remains of some Hemadpanti temples¹⁴. Śaḍgr̥śaka, after which the administrative unit (in which the granted village situated) was named, cannot be identified.

9. It will shortly be published in this journal. The recently discovered Thalner plates of Hariṣeṇa also have season date.

10. Ibid.

11. *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārṣika*, 1975, p. 17, line 50.

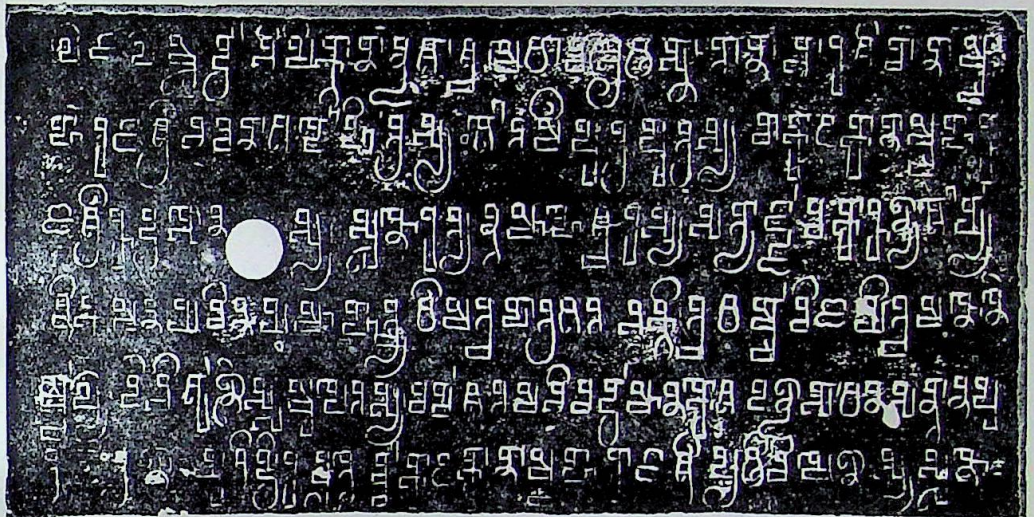
12. *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. V, Nos. 3-16; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 53-56; *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārṣika*, 1977, pp. 150-157.

13. *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. V, p. 31, line 35; p. 56, line 42.

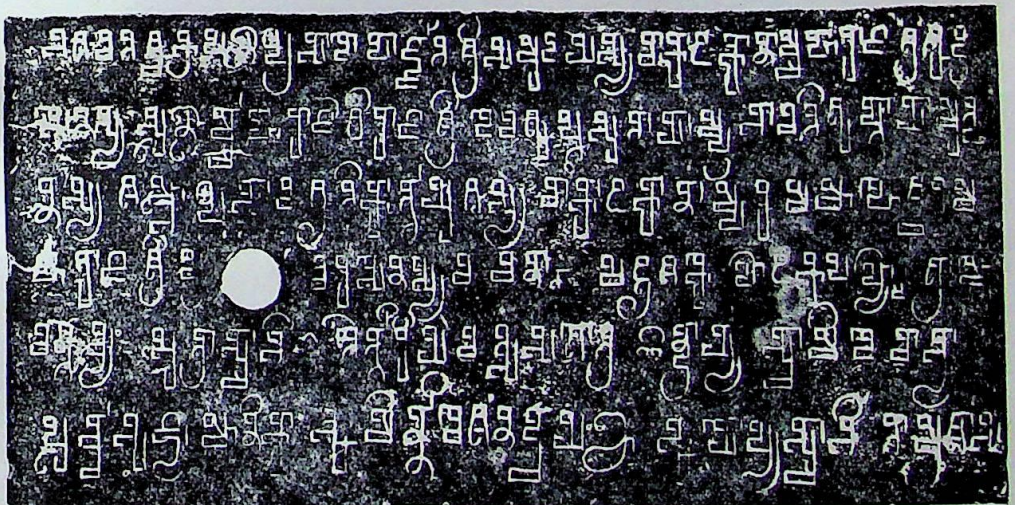
14. *Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Annual Report*, 1902.

(To face p. 82)

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First plate : first side



First plate : second side



Second plate

Text¹First² Plate : First Side

1. लजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानां भारशिवानाम्म-
2. हार(रा)जश्री भवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रपुत्रस्य³ वाकाटकानाम्महार-
3. जश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोरत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्याज्ज्वकारुण्यशौर्य-
4. विक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधीमत्त्व(त्वं)पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्मविजयित्वमनोने-
5. र्म्वं(र्म)ल्यादिभिर्गुणैस्समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधन-
सन्तानपु-
6. त्वपौत्र(त्रि)णः युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीपृथिवि(वी)षेणस्य
सूनोः

First Plate : Second Side

7. भगवत्स्वरूप(पा)णोऽप्रसादोपाज्जितश्रि(श्री)समुदयस्य वाकाटकाना-
म्महाराजश्रीरुद्र-
8. सेनस्य सूर्यो(नो)र्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाम्प्रभावति(ती)गुप्ता-
यामुत्प-
9. न(न्न)स्य शम्भोऽप्रसादधृति(त)कार्त्युगस्य वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरम-
10. हाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचनात् षड्गृशके लाटकपल्याम् ग्रामो⁴
11. वक्तव्यः⁵ [।*] अत्रास्माभिः तैत्ती(त्ति)रीयवत्ससगोत्रइन्द्रार्य्यस्वामिदेवास्या
(म्यां)
12. पूर्वभुज्यमानिका भूमिर्निवेशनद्वयञ्च भूयो(s)प्यस्माभिः⁶ [ः*] ताम्रशास-⁷

1. From the original plates.

2. Actually this is the second plate of the original grant.

3. In other plates of Pravarasena II we generally have गौतमीपुत्रस्यपुत्रस्य.

4. Read लाटकपल्लीग्रामो.

5. The address to the whole village met with here is rather uncommon and is not found in Vakāṭaka records.

6. As the word *asmābhiḥ* has already come in line 11 above, it is redundant here.

7. The remaining two letters of this word, which were obviously engraved on the missing next (third) plate, were in all probability नेन.

Second Plate⁸ :

13. ⁹दरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्ता(त्त)सञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन(नं)कृतपुण्या
(ण्या)नुकीर्त्त-
14. न¹⁰ कीर्त्तयामः[।*]व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लौ(श्लो)कौ प्रमाणि(णी)कर्त्तव्यो
(व्यौ) । स्वदत्ताम्प-
15. रदत्तां वा हरेद्यो वे वसुन्धरा [म्*] । गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुर्ह-
16. ति दुष्पृ(ष्कृत)त[म्*] । [।*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति
भूमिदः[।*]
17. आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे[त्*]॥ सव्व¹¹ २० [+*]९
18. गि प ४ दिव १०[+*]१ सेनापतौ वाप्पदेवे लिखितं(तम्) ॥

8. This was the last, probably fourth, plate of the original charter.

9. The missing first two letters of this expression must have been *dharmma*.

10. Read कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहाराय न.

11. Prakritism in *savva* (for *savya*) in this line and *gi* (for *grī*) in the next line is interesting. This feature is met with in other records also.

GAṆAS AND THEIR REPRESENTATION IN THE KAILAŚANĀTHA TEMPLE, KĀŅCHIPURAM

KAMAL GIRI

The *gaṇas* or *gaṇanāyakas* are associated with Śiva as attendants who is *Pramatheśa* and *Gaṇanātha* by appellation, besides his various other names¹. The *gaṇas*, according to literature, were lent by their lord to his son, Kārttikeya or Skanda, for fighting against the demons (*daityas*)². The *Mahābhārata*³ makes detailed description of the *gaṇas*, also called *parśadas*, in connection with the coronation of Skanda, attended also by the *gaṇas*. The *gaṇas* bore the faces of various animals and birds such as dog, hare, boar, elephant, lion, fox, tortoise, cock, crow, owl, parrot and falcon etc. The *Matsyapurāṇa*⁴ also, in a similar reference to Skandābhiṣeka, describes the *gaṇas* with animal faces⁵. The *Vāyupurāṇa*⁶, however, gives a detailed account of the birth of these *gaṇas*, born of Bhūti, the daughter of Krodhā who was married to a *ṛṣi*, called Pulaha. The plentiful number of the *gaṇas* who became the attendants of Śiva is suggested by the expression *koṭi-koṭi* in the work. The *Vāyupurāṇa* further mentions that the *gaṇas* remained bachelors (*brahmacārin*) throughout their lives.⁷

1. Śiva is also called *Bhūteśa*, *Bhūtanātha* and *Bhūtapati* for having lordship over the *Bhūtas*, or *Bhūtanāyakas*. For details consult, M.A., Dhaky, '*Bhūtas and Bhūtanāyakas. Elementals and their captains*', Paper read at the seminar on '*Discourses on Śiva*', Philadelphia, 1981.

2. *Gaṇas* accompanied Śiva when he destroyed Tripura and Andhaka. They also assisted Skanda against the demon Tāraka.

3. *kūrmakukkuṭavakīrāśca śaśolūkamukhastathā,
kharoṣṭravadanāścānye varahavadanāstathā.*

Mahābhārata, Śalyaparvan, 45,79 ; for detail see chapter 44-45.

4. *Matsyapurāṇa*, 182,62-66.

5. The representation of the *gaṇas* with various animal faces is reminiscent of Śiva as *Paśupati*.

6. *Vāyupurāṇa*, chapter 69, 224-256.

7. *Ibid.*

We are encountered with some amusing descriptions of the *gaṇas* in the *Kumārasāmbhava* of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa visualises the *gaṇas* as sitting on a hillock and dressed in bark with hair decorated with flowers⁸. On the occasion of the marriage of their lord Śiva, they joined the procession in joyful mood and played various musical instruments⁹. Śiva is described in the work as looking at his face, before leaving for the marriage in the mirror-like shining sword held by one of the *gaṇas*¹⁰. The *gaṇas* were ordered by their lord to make necessary preparations for the birth ceremony of Kumāra Kārttikeya¹¹. Kālidāsa has also referred to the dance of Bhṛṅgi who was one of the leaders of the *gaṇas*. His dance was dreadful enough to frighten Pārvatī¹². Bhāravi, while describing the army of the *gaṇas*, accompanying Śiva, in the form of Kirāta, has underlined their peculiar forms with various war weapons¹³.

Nandī, Bhṛṅgi, Durmukha, Kumbhāṇḍa, Kumbhodara¹⁴ and Pramatha¹⁵ are only some of the names of the *gaṇanāyakas* (chieftains of the *gaṇas*), mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit literature, who use to perform specific duties. Nandī¹⁶, as a door-keeper, was posted at the gate with a stick when Śiva went for penance. Nandī, while discharging his duties, is said to have warned the *gaṇas* not to disturb Śiva when in meditation¹⁷. The *gaṇanāyakas*, entrusted with the command of the subordinate *gaṇas*, are also conceived as door-keeper (*dvarapalas*) of Śiva temples¹⁸, a fact also reinforced by their presence in the actual temples.

8. *Kumārasāmbhava*, I, 55.

9. Ellora caves preserve sculptural examples of such *gaṇas*; T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu iconography*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XXVII.

10. *Kumārasāmbhava*, VII, 36 and 40.

11. *Ibid.* XI, 30-32;

12. *Ibid.* IX, 48.

13. *Kirātārjunīyam*, XII, 43.

14. *Raghuvamśa*, I, 5.

15. In *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* V, word *pramatha* stands for a gang of *gaṇas* and Gaṇeśa is called lord of the *pramathas*, who seem to have been notorious for their childish activities.

16. Nandī is represented both in the bull and human forms.

17. *Kumārasāmbhava*, III, 41.

18. *Aparājita-precha* (133, 1) mentions Nandī, Mahākala, Heramba, etc. as *dvarapalas* of Śiva.

The Mahābhārata¹⁹ and the Matsyapurāṇa²⁰ are the earliest works which deal at length with the physical features of the gaṇas, specifying their characteristics, and also sportive and martial activities (*krīḍas*). The Vāmana and Skanda Purāṇas (*Kāśikhāṇḍa*²¹, *Nāgarakhāṇḍa*) also give identical features with some additional details. Some of the later texts referring to the gaṇas without any new features, sometimes enunciate a few conceptual points²².

The most comprehensive details of the bodily forms and the features of the gaṇas are mentioned in the Mahābhārata²³ and the Matsyapurāṇa²⁴, which may, however, be summarised here for proper understanding of the gaṇas in concrete renderings (visual forms). The gaṇas are either long-limbed and tall-headed or short-statured (dwarfish). Their forms may be emaciated or heavily built or even large-bodied. They could be either shaven-headed or possess matted hair-locks or tuft of hair. They may be placid (*saumya*) in countenance and shapely with delightful smiling faces, sometimes, terrifying also. They may have also grotesque and flaming countenance. They may be dirty in appearance, or their bodies may be besmeared with ash, or with the paste of red sandal. The gaṇas possess two, two-and-a-half, or three eyes which may be broad, lion-like or even yellowed. They possess big or a twisted nose, sometimes with elephant trunk, wolf muzzle or the breathing organ of a tortoise. Their ears may be either long, or big or conical, or even of a cow, or of an elephant. They are long, or heavy lipped with long tongue and protruding teeth with long or conch-like neck; long or short arms, sometimes their number being more than two even. They are mainly large, or heavy or extended or pot-bellied; sometimes having even no belly. They possess long, short, heavy or even hunchback, and long legs, sometimes their number being more than two.

Besides the human head, the gaṇas also bear animal and bird heads which include lion, tiger, boar, jackal, dog, cat, elephant,

19. *Śalyaparvan*, 9,44,74-108.

20. *Matsyapurāṇa*, 53,531-46 and 182,64-66.

21. *Skandapurāṇa* (*Kāśikhāṇḍa*), 67-68.

22. For details see M.A. Dhaky, *op. cit.*

23. *Śalyaparvan*, 9,44,74-108.

24. *Matsyapurāṇa*, 53,531-46 and 182,44-66.

buffalo, cow, bull, goat, sheep, ass, ape, hare, mongoose, rat, dolphin, crocodile, fish, tortoise, peacock, cuckoo, crow, pigeon, owl, hawk, eagle and several others. Sometimes, the *gaṇas* have an additional head either on the back or on the shoulder or even on the chin or stomach or waist or thigh or foot. They are also conceived as multiheads, sometimes number being hundred (*sahasramukha*). The *gaṇas* are usually single-faced, two-armed, and two-eyed. Their faces may be hairy also. They are either nude or their bodies are covered with apparel, sometimes made of leather. They wear peculiar ornaments. Since the *gaṇas* relish war and fighting, they are mostly provided with war-weapons (*āyudhas*), such as thunderbolt, spear, noose, pestle (*musala*), mace, trident, sword, shield, spiked club, disc, staff, staff topped by skull, bow and arrow etc. They also put on armour on their body. The *gaṇas* also love music and dance, and hence they are also shown as dancing and playing on musical instruments, like flute, cymbal and drum etc. The *gaṇas* also live in thickets and ride various mounts. They also glide in the air²⁵.

The concrete representation of the *gaṇas* with Śiva, as his associates, starts from the Gupta period²⁶. But the figures, identical in forms and other iconographic details with those of the *gaṇas* are noticed even prior to the Gupta period, the instances of which may be seen at Sāñchi (2nd-1st c. B.C.), Amarāvati, Nāgarjunikoṇḍā (1st-2nd c. A.D.) and a few other places. The figures from these places, like the *gaṇa* figures, are short-statured, frolicking and pot-bellied. They wear *dhoti*, *uttariya*, *udarabandha* and various ornaments such as *hāra*, *kuṇḍala*, *valaya* and *mekhala*. Their faces are either furious or smiling and hair arranged in different fashions²⁷.

25. For details see M.A. Dhaky, *op. cit.*

26. R.D. Banerji, 'The Temple of Śiva at Bhūmāra'. (*Memoirs Archaeological Surv. India*, No. 16, 1924, pl. IX, a-c ;) Mandasore Śiva Temple (base frieze), Chhavi-2, Rai Krishnadasa felicitation volume, Varanasi, 1981, figs. 314-16 ; Donald M. Stadner, 'A Gupta frieze from Kandava', Chhavi-2, p. 187-88, figs. 437-39.

27. John Marshall, *The Monuments of Sāñchi*,—south gateway, (dwarfish figures supporting the architraves) : Douglas Barrett, *Sculptures from Amarāvati in the British Museum*, London, 1959, pls. II, IV, X, XIII, XXI and XXIII ; Nāgarjunikoṇḍā, *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report*, 1928-29, 1933, pls. XLIX ; B.N. Misra and H. Sarkar, Nāgarjunikoṇḍā, ASI, New Delhi, 1980, pls. XA, XIA and XIIB.

They are portrayed as dancing or playing on different musical instruments or even carrying flag-staff or other objects²⁸. The examples with animal or bird faces and also with an additional head on the stomach are also encountered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍā and Nachanā-Kuṭhārā²⁹.

The *gaṇas* or *gaṇanāyakas*, occupying an important place on Śiva temples, are represented either as door-keepers or playing on different musical instruments, or even in spirited dance poses or fighting or marching in group with weapons (*āyudhas*). They are carved mainly on the wall of the temples either in panels or in small niches in the groups of two, four, five, six, nine or even more. The Śiva *gaṇas*, in joyous or furious moods, are shown in different actions. These features are noticed in the examples from Bhūmarā, Ellora, Varanasi and several other places³⁰. The rendering of *gaṇas*, however, was more popular with the south Indian Śiva temples and Śiva images³¹. The *aṣṭadīkpa* figures of the *jaṅgha* are replaced in the two temples at Amrol (mid 8th c. A.D.) in north India by the dancing dwarfs or the *gaṇanāyakas*³². However, a few

28. Douglas Barrett, *ibid.*, pls. XXIX, XLVIII, IV, XXIII; B.N. Misra, and H. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pls. XA, XIIB; *Archaeological survey of India, Annual report*, *ibid.*, pls. L, C and D.

29. *Archaeological survey of India, Annual report*, *ibid.*, pl. XLIX; Donald M. Stadner, *op. cit.*, fn. 5.

30. R.D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, at Ellora several panels depict Śiva and Pārvatī with *gaṇas*. The most interesting scene is found on a big panel in the Rāmeśvara cave where, on the occasion of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, a number of *gaṇas* are shown carrying banners, playing on musical instruments, and dancing in different poses and moods; see T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, pls. XXVII, XXIX and CV; Donald M., Stadner, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-88.

31. Mahābalipuram (*Dharmarāja ratha* and *Mahiṣmardinī maṇḍapa*), Ellora (cave 10, 17, 21) Bādāmī (caves I and II), see *Chhavi-2*, fig. 114, Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, pls. XCIV and XCIX; Mahākūṭeśvara Temple, Mahākūṭa (*pradakṣiṇapatha*), *Chhavi-2*, fig. 119; Tirumalai; Veṭṭuvankōil, Kaḷagumalai, *Chhavi-2*, fig. 60; Kodumbalur, Aivarkoil; Pullamangai (next to Gaṇeśa and on the *maṇḍapa* roof) etc.; for detail, M.A. Dhaky, *op. cit.*, fn. 54-72.

32. Dhaky M.A., *op. cit.*

independent figures of the *gaṇas*, mainly belonging to the Gupta period, are also known³³.

Now we shall discuss, in detail, the *gaṇa* figures in the Kailāśanātha temple (c. 695-722 A.D.) at Kāñchīpuram (Chinglepet District, Tamilnadu). These figures are carved mainly on the base-ments, in panels and in niches, and on the façade. They are shown in the group of two, four, five, eight, nine or even more. The short-statured, pot-bellied *gaṇas* are corpulent with bulging eyes and smiling faces. They are either furious or in delightful moods, engaged in different actions, mainly dancing, playing on various instruments and fighting. They wear short *dhotī*, sometimes with folds, extended either upto the knees or a little above the knees. The nude *gaṇa* figures play truant in the temple. *Gaṇas* are bedecked in round and lone ear-rings, short necklaces, armlets, and sometimes a fillet on the head, probably to tie or to keep the hair in its position. The ornaments are plain and simple. A few *gaṇa* figures also wear tortoise or scorpion shaped amulets, fastened to necklaces³⁴. Their hair are arranged in *jaṭajūṭa* or in round-knot in centre of the head, or in flowing curls with strands on the back or on both the shoulders with or without a top-knot, or in *jaṭabhara*. Sometimes, the top round-knot is decorated with flowers. The *gaṇas* also wear *yajñopavita* and *udarabandha*. These *gaṇas* are both human and animal or bird-faced, possessing mainly cow, elephant, parrot and lion faces. Gaṇeśa, the leader of the *gaṇas*, with elephant face, is shown in a beautiful spirited dancing pose.

The *gaṇa* figures in a panel included the dancing figures and the figures playing on musical instruments in delightful mood along-

33. K.D. Bajpai, *Some interesting gaṇa figures from Panna, Lalit-kalā*, No. 10, Oct. 1961, pl. XIII, figs. 1-4; pl. XIV, figs. 5-7; *gaṇa* (Acc. No. 23268), Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.

34. At Ellora in cave No. 21 two *gaṇas* are seen wearing tortoise-shaped amulet and in cave No. 29 the *Rāvaṇanugraha-mūrti* shows a *gaṇa* with scorpion-shaped amulet. R.N. Misra, *Bhāratīya mūrtikalā*, Delhi, 1978, fig. 5, *gaṇa* from Nachnā Kuṭhārā; (The archaeological findings of such tortoise and scorpion-shaped object with perforation prove that these were used as amulets. From Rajghat some such and other animal shaped amulets belonging to Gupta period have been found. However, we do not get any literary reference for such amulets.) Kamal Giri, 'Animal and bird beads', *Chhavi*-2, pp. 312-23, pls. W, X, Y, figs. 651-55.

with the figures engaged in fighting with war weapons in furious mood, which thus maintain an ambivalence of two different actions performed by the *gaṇas* on two different occasions, as mentioned in the literature, i.e. first on the occasion of the *abhiṣeka* of Kumāra and the latter on the occasion of war against demons in the leadership of Kumāra.

The *gaṇas* are represented in different postures with their legs and hands being in dance poses. The legs are either crossed or the right one is being raised upto the left thigh, or shown in *urdhva-taṇḍava* pose, with left leg being placed on the floor, and the right slightly kept forward. The hands are shown either moving upward, or the right one in *gajahastamudra*, left being raised upto the head, or right being raised and left placed in front of the breast. In few cases, two *gaṇas* are portrayed as dancing with their hands entangled with each other or playing on musical instruments. It is indeed interesting to find that a few *gaṇa* figures are also shown dancing with weapons like sword and shield.

Now we shall deal with some of the important figures in greater details. The *gaṇa* figures in the temple may, however, be classified into two groups, first, the figures carved in panels on the *adhiṣṭhāna* and the second, shown with Śiva on the façade.

In one of the examples of the first group, on the western *adhiṣṭhāna*, the *gaṇas* are carved in different dance postures. The frolicking *gaṇas* are here shown in delightful mood. The artist has successfully depicted the joyous mood through smiling faces and open eyes. Their poses correspond with their mood. However, a figure with fearful face, open mouth and bulging eyes, also joins the *gaṇas* in dance. The heavy bodied *gaṇas* wear short *dhotī*, showing schematic lines in one case. They are bejewelled in fillet, heavy, double round and long *kunḍalas*, plain *udarabandha* and armlets. The hair are arranged either in a round-knot at the side of the head or in a big top-knot or combed back, or shown flowing on the shoulders. The dancing *gaṇas* are shown either with right hand raised and left resting in front of the chest, or both the hands being raised to the head, or right hand being in *gajahastamudra* and left raised (fig.1)³⁵.

35. Such dance poses can be seen in the *gaṇa* figures from Bhūmār and Ellora (cave XXI). R.D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, a-c.

Another interesting example, carved on the northern *adhiṣṭhana*, show nine dancing *gaṇas* in a panel (fig. 2). Here human, bird and animal-faced *gaṇas* are carved together in different dance poses with rhythmic correspondence to each other. Of the nine, two figures are shown with sword and shield while two others hold only sword. However, the other figures do not bear any object and their hands suggest different dance poses. Their both hands are either raised or right hand is shown in *gajahastamudra* and the left is raised. One parrot-faced *gaṇa*, with a horn on the forehead, is interestingly pointing towards elephant-faced *gaṇa*, Gaṇeśa, also called Gaṇanāyaka and Gaṇapati. Gaṇeśa is here shown in *urdhva-taṇḍava* pose. The pot-bellied dwarfish figures of the *gaṇas* in the present panel wear short *dhotī*, and usual ornaments, as described above, with *yajñopavīta*. The hair of human-faced *gaṇas* are arranged either in curls flowing on both the sides with a top-knot, or *jaṭas* flowing at the back. A fillet has also been used to fix or tie the hairs of some figures. These *gaṇas* with smiling faces and bodily actions are shown in delightful moods. In case of animal or bird-faced *gaṇas* the delightful mood has been suggested by their open mouths, and bodily gesticulations (fig. 2).

Another panel, on the northern *adhiṣṭhana*, also exhibits animal-faced *gaṇas* in the midst of human-faced *gaṇas* (fig. 3). The animal faced *gaṇas* bear cow, boar, elephant, lion and *makara* faces. All the *gaṇa* figures, showing different poses, are lively and mobile. The cow-faced *gaṇa* with sword and shield is apparently engaged in fighting with the boar-faced *gaṇa*. The lion-faced *gaṇa* touching the trunk of the elephant-faced *gaṇa* with his right hand is likewise shown in a fighting mood. The elephant-faced *gaṇa* on the other hand holds a long stick(?) in both the hands. The *makara*-faced *gaṇa* is looking at the human-faced *gaṇas* standing ahead, three in number. Of the three, one bears sword and shield, while the other two with smiling faces are in dancing pose. The hair of these *gaṇas* are arranged in *jaṭabhāra* fashion. All the *gaṇa* figures wear usual ornaments and short *dhotī*.

The *gaṇas*, in the second group, are carved with dancing Śiva figures. They join their lord in dancing poses and also as playing on musical instruments. In one such example, on the western façade, three dancing *gaṇas* in a delightful mood, are carved in a niche, under the figure of dancing Śiva (fig. 4). The four-armed central dancing

(To face p. 92)

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Fig 1
Dancing *Gaṇas*



Fig. 2
Gaṇas in delightful mood

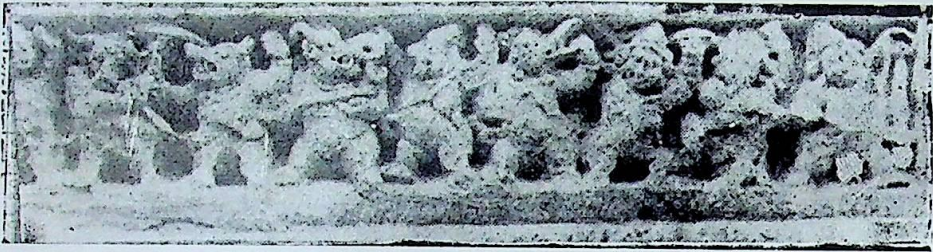


Fig. 3
Animal-faced *Gaṇas* in the midst of human-faced *Gaṇas*



Fig. 4
Three dancing *Gaṇas*, carved in a niche, under the dancing Śiva

gaṇa figure, fully corresponds with the dancing mood and posture of Śiva above. His left leg rests on the floor, while the right is being raised in dancing pose. His arms are raised upwards in dancing pose. The figure, with frightful appearance and bulging eyes, beautifully communicates joyous mood. The figures wear *jaṭajūṭa*, short *dhottī*, *yajñopavīta*, short necklace, armlet, bracelet, *kuṇḍala* and *udara-bandha*. To his left is another *gaṇa* with dreadful appearance, bearing a sword in right hand, while his left hand is raised. The figure, much mutilated, also joins the dance. Another dancing figure of Śiva, on western façade also shows two *gaṇas*, sitting and playing on flute, and engrossed in music.

From the foregoing, it may be observed that the *gaṇas* in Kailāśanātha temple are always represented with man and animal faces and with two hands, barring a few instances where they possess four arms. These figures show concurrence with the literary injunctions as regard to their animal faces and other bodily features, besides the ornaments and attributes. However, the cow, elephant, lion and parrot faces appear to be the most favoured ones. As contrary to the figures from other places like Bhūmāra, Ellora etc., the figures in Kailāśanātha temple have certain special features. First, whether fighting or dancing or playing on musical instruments or even simply marching in groups, they are always shown in delightful mood with smiling faces and different bodily actions, mostly suggesting dance postures. Second, besides finding independent depictions in panels in the temple, they also join Śiva when he performs different dances as Nāṭarāja, and also when he is engaged in the act of killing three demons as *Tripurāntaka*.

MAṆDALEŚVARA MAHĀDEVA TEMPLE AT HARSHA

B. L. NAGARCH

The village Harsha is located 10 kms south-east of Bilada tehsil in Jodhpur district of Rajasthan. The road is metalled upto a distance of eight kms and then *kachcha* for two kms. The village is approachable by jeep from Jodhpur via Bilada located on Jodhpur—Ajmer Road.

On the eastern outskirts of the village is located the Maṇdaleśvara Mahādeva temple. It is dedicated to Śiva and faces east. It is built of purple sandstone masonry. The temple is at present enclosed by modern enclosure wall running all around.

The temple consists of a plan of a sanctum with three transepts one on either side and one on the rear, a vestibule (*antarāla*), a *mahāmaṇḍapa* with lateral transepts and an *ardhamāṇḍapa* (plates I and II). The sanctum is square and its each side measures 3.45 metres internally. The walls of the sanctum are plain. Inside the sanctum is kept at present a loose *Śivaliṅga* on a fragmentary *praṇāla*. The temple is in worship.

Sanctum doorway

The doorway of the sanctum is carved with five *śakhas*. The first *śakhā* is decorated with lotus-scroll. The second *śakhā* is carved withstanding female figures. The third *śakhā* is decorated with *mīthuna* panels. The fourth *śakhā* is embellished with *śārdūlas* and the fifth is carved with lotus petals. The lower portion of the jambs is carved on either side with the image of standing river goddess with a dwarf female attendant; a four-armed *Śaivadvārāpala* standing in a niche, that on the right carrying *kaṭi*, *triśūla*, *sarpa* and indistinct and that on the left carrying chopped, chopped, *sarpa* and *kaṭi*. On one side of the niches on either side is shown a standing *Śaiva* ascetic.

The lintel and the door-sill of the doorway are missing. Below the door-jambs on either side is shown a *ghaṭapallava*. On the right

of the *ghaṭapallava* on the right side is shown a seated male deity with chopped head and hands ; on the left of the *ghaṭapallava* on the left is shown two-armed seated Sarasvatī playing on *viṇā*. The *lalatabimba* is missing. The extant portion of the door lintel shows four seated deities. They are from left to right (1) seated two-armed female deity in *lalitasana*. Her right hand delineates *abhayamudra*. Her left hand and head are chopped off. (2) Two-armed Sūrya seated in European fashion carries lotuses in his both hands. He wears a *kirita*. (3) Two-armed female deity seated in *padmāsana* and carrying *kalāśa* with *varadahasta*. (4) Four-armed Viṣṇu seated in *lalitasana* and carrying *varadamudra*, *gada*, *cakra* and *śankha*. Above the lintel the architrave is carved with cut triangles and lotus petals.

Vestibule (*antarāla*)

The ceiling of the vestibule rests on two pilasters and two pillars. The pilasters show from bottom upwards, base consisting of *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalāśa* and *kapota* decorated with *kuḍu* arches. The shaft is plain except on the top where it is carved with half-lotus-scrolls. Above the shaft is the capital decorated with *ghaṭapallava* design and a ribbed *padma*. This is surmounted by the brackets some plain and some carved with half *kirttimukha* design and foliage.

It is a *sandhāra prasāda* as there is a circumambulatory running all around the sanctum. The sanctum is *pāñcharatha* on plan. It shows from bottom upwards plain *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalāśa*, *kapota* decorated with *kuḍus* and half-lotus design. This is surmounted by plain *jaṅgha*. Above the *jaṅgha* is *varaṇḍika* moulding decorated with half-lotus design and *kapota* beautified by *kuḍu* arches. Above this is the ceiling (plate-IIA). The ceilings of the sanctum and the circumambulatory are partly gone. The ceilings of the rear and the northern lateral transepts of the sanctum are completely gone. The southern lateral transept is partly preserved. Its dwarfish side pillars and plinth are intact, though its superstructure is completely gone. The three niche shrines, one on each of the three *bhadrās*, are lying vacant. The four niches in the circumambulatory passage are also lying vacant. Both the niches in the walls of the *antarāla* are lying vacant. The ceiling of the *antarāla* is carved with two full blown lotus designs.

The Mahāmaṇḍapa

The ceiling of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* rests on sixteen pillars arranged in four rows, each row consisting of four pillars (plate-III). It is divided. This arrangement of the pillars divides the ceiling into sixteen small compartments. The ceilings of some of these compartments are plain while those of others are embellished with full blown lotus designs. The ceiling of the central compartment of *mahāmaṇḍapa* is domical, i.e. of *nābhicchanda* type and consists of *kola* and *gajatalu* course.

The pillars of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* are beautifully carved with various floral designs. Some of the pillars show from bottom upwards square base consisting of *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa* and *kapota* decorated with *kuṇḍu* arches, square shaft decorated at the top with lotus medallions, capital decorated with *ghaṭapallava* design and ribbed *padma* and *bhūta* brackets. The four central pillars of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* supporting the domical ceiling differ slightly in decoration from the other pillars. They show from bottom upwards base consisting of *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa*, *kapota*, decorated with *kuṇḍu*. The square shaft is decorated with lotus medallions, twelve-sided *bandha* carved with rosettes, square *bandha* carved with lotus-scrolls, a circular cushion carved with lotus-scrolls, *ghaṭa-pallava*, ribbed *padma* and brackets with carved profile (plate-IV-V).

The architrave of the ceiling of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is decorated with lotus-scrolls, *padmapatra* and diamonds. The domical ceiling is carved with cut-triangles, garland loops and *gagarakas* and *kola* and *gajatalu* courses.

Ardhamāṇḍapa

The ceiling of the *ardhamāṇḍapa* is rested on four pillars. The ceiling is now only partly extant. Only the two carved half lotus designs on its corners are now extant. The architrave of the ceiling is decorated with lotus-scroll, lotus-petals and diamonds and pilasters. The pillars of *ardhamāṇḍapa* show the same decoration as the pillars of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*.

Interior

The basement mouldings of the temple show from bottom upwards *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa*, *kapota* decorated with *kuṇḍu* and

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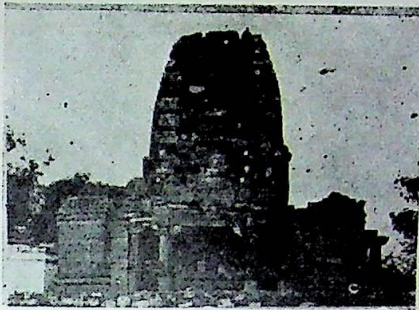


Plate I
General view of the *shikhara*

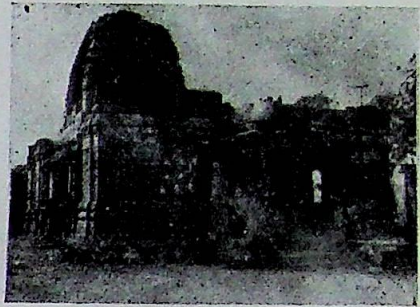


Plate II
General view of the temple

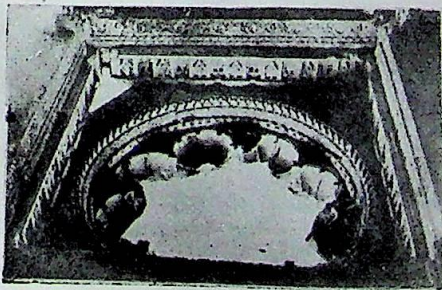


Plate II A
Ceiling of the Sanctum

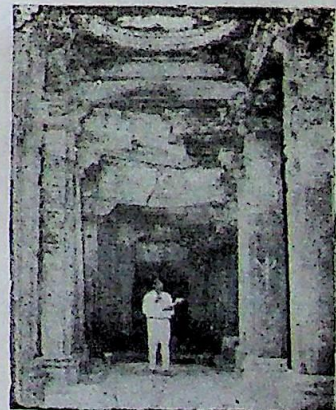


Plate III
Sabhamaṇḍapa



Plate IV
Pillar of the *mahamai dapa*

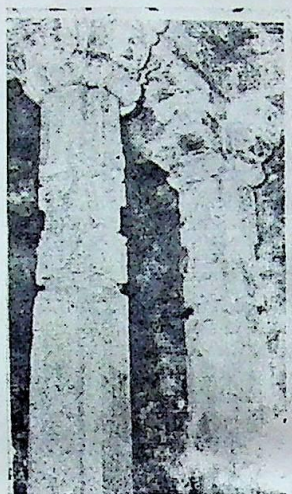


Plate V
Pillars



Plate VI
General view of the *shikhara*



Plate VII
Śalva dvārapala

half lotus design, *jaṅgha* decorated at the top with garland loops. *kapota* decorated with *kuṇḍas* and half lotus design and *rājasana* decorated with diamonds. The portion above this is completely gone.

The *sikhara* above the sanctum is partly preserved (plate VI). The *sikhara* was originally decorated with five *latas* on each side. Only the corner *latas* are now extant. Each of the corner *latā* is divided into eight storeys by seven *bhūmyamalakas*. It is a curvilinear (*nagara*) *sikhara* decorated with a mesh of *chaitya* arches and diamond designs. The exposed core of the *sikhara* is visible on three sides. All the *latas* on the front side are intact. The *sikhara* gives us an idea of its hollow construction.

A fragmentary seated *nandī* is lying loose in the *mahāmaṇḍapa* at present. It measures 45 cms. × 21 cms. × 41 cms. A mutilated image of a four-armed *śaivadvārāpāla* is presently fixed on a platform in front of the temple. It shows four-armed *śaivadvārāpāla* standing in *tribhaṅga*. He wears *jaṭamukuta*, *kuṇḍalas*, *yajñopavīta* and a lower garment fastened by *mekhala*. All of his hands except the lower left placed on his thigh have been chopped off (plate VII). It measures 1.16 mtrs. × 0.55 mtr. × 0.32 mtr.

A fragmentary seated lion is also seen. It measures 0.97 mtr. × 0.31 mtr. × 0.45 mtr. Three lintels, one of the sanctum and two of the *antarāla* have cracked and are hanging dangerously.

Measurements

The *antarāla* measures internally 6.61 mtrs. broad and 2.20 mtrs. long.

The *maṇḍapa* measures 9.10 × 8.70 mtrs.

The southern transept of the sanctum measures 3.74 × 1.93 mtrs. The width of the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* is 1.40 mtrs.

The southern transept of *mahāmaṇḍapa* measures 3.70 × 2.30 mtrs.

The *ardhamāṇḍapa* measures 2.75 × 2.45 mtrs.

The following sculptures are lying on a platform in front of a modern Śiva temple on the north of the Maṇḍaleśvara Mahādeva temple.

1. Two-armed seated pot-bellied Kubera carries lotus and a purse (plate VIII). He wears a bejewelled *mukuṭa*. There is a circular halo behind his head. The sculpture is white washed, it measures .90 × .55 × .20 mtrs. thick.

2. Two-armed seated Gaṇeśa carries flower with other hand chopped off (plate IX). There is a circular halo behind his head. His trunk has been chopped off. He wears a *sarpa yajñopavīta*. The sculpture is whitewashed. It measures 1.02 mtrs. high × .59 mtr. broad and .24 mtr. thick. A flying Vidyādhara carrying garland is seen on either side of his head.

On the south of the Maṇḍaleśvara temple is an ancient *kuṇḍa* coeval in date with the temple. It is square and each side measures 24 mtrs. In the centre of the eastern side is a small shrine dedicated to Viṣṇu as is evident from the sculpture of Viṣṇu carved on each of its three *bhādras* (quarters). The temple consists of a shrine dedicated to Viṣṇu as is evident from the sculpture of Viṣṇu carved on each of its three *bhādra* niches. The temple has a small sanctum on plan. It shows in elevation from bottom upwards plain *bhitta*, *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa*, *kapota* decorated with *kuṇḍas*, *jaṅgha* decorated with a niche on *bhādra* and pilasters, *varaṇḍika* decorated with *kapota* and *antarapātra*, entablature and *śikhara*. The original *śikhara* is missing and a modern dome is presently seen there (plate X).

The *bhādra* niche on the north contains an image of four-armed Varāha standing in *pratyaliḍha* and carrying *kaṭi*, *gada*, *chakra* and *saṅkha*. The earth goddess is seen seated on his upper left hand (plate XI).

The *bhādra* niche on the east shows four-armed seated *yogāsana* Viṣṇu on a lotus. His lower two hands are in *dhyānamudra* and in the upper two hands he carries lotus like objects.

The *bhādra* niche on the south contains four-armed Nṛsiṃha killing the demon Hiranyakaśipu (plate XIII). He is ripping open the belly of the demon with his lower two hands. In the sanctum is presently kept a loose image of Mahiṣamardini. She is four-armed and carries *triśula* piercing through the body of the buffalo, a shield, which is indistinct (plate XIV). The sculpture is whitewashed. It measures 1.05 mtrs. high ; 0.58 mtr. broad and 0.25 mtr. thick. The shrine measures 2.15 mtrs. × 2.15 mtrs. × 3.10 mtrs. It is a square shrine.

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plate VIII
Seated Kubera



plate IX
Seated Ganeśa



plate X
Shrine in the eastern side
of the *kuṇḍa*



plate XI
Varāha in the northern *bhadrā*-
niche of the shrine on the *kuṇḍa*



plate XII
Viṣṇu in the eastern *bhadra*-
niche of the shrine on the *kuṇḍa*



plate XIII
Nṛsiṃha in the eastern *bhadra*-
niche of the shrine on *kuṇḍa*



plate XIV
Image of Mahiṣamardinī presently
kept inside the shrine on the *kuṇḍa*



plate XV
A well on the west of
the *kuṇḍa*

The *kuṇḍa* has four steps on each side.

In the west of the *kuṇḍa* there was originally a well which has now been filled up (plate XV). The carved pillars of the shrine are seen lying on the spot.

It is evident that the Maṇḍaleśvara Mahādeva temple is an important monument of medieval period. It has an elaborately carved sanctum doorway and beautiful pillars. The architraves of the ceilings of its *mahamaṇḍapa* and *ardhamāṇḍapa* are beautifully engraved with lotus-scrolls, diamonds and pilasters. Though in a damaged condition at present, the *śikhara* of the temple is quite lofty. The *kuṇḍa*, the well and the ruins of other structures lying at the site suggest that this temple occupied a prominent position and was an important centre of Śaivism during the days of Chauhan rule.

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THE MALAVAS AND THEIR ROLE IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

MAHESH KUMAR SHARAN

Like many other tribes of Ancient India the Mālavas were very famous. They played an important role in the history of Ancient India. They claimed descent from the illustrious Ikṣvāku stock of Śrī Rāmachandra¹. The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa says that the epithet of Lakshmaṇa's son Chandraketu was Malla². It was this Malla who founded *Malla-raṣṭra*³ and his descendants were called the Mallas. The word Madra became Malla in Prakrit as *dr* is a changed form for *ll*⁴. Malla is the same as the *Malloi* of the Greek and the *Mālava* of the epic.

According to a reference in the Mahābhārata the sons of Aśvapati, who was the king of Madras, were called Mālavas after their mother. This was according to a decree of Yama granted to the mother of Savitri, wife of Aśvapati who happened to be a Mālava princess.⁵ This reveals that the Madras and the Mālavas represented one and the same people. Their western and northern sections have been distinctly mentioned in the *Bhīṣmaparvan*.

The Mālavas have been mentioned with the Trigarttas⁶, and also with the Śibis and the Ambaṣṭhas⁷.

The Nāndsā yūpa pillar inscription (c. 226 A.D.) contains the mention of some chiefs of the Mālava vaṃśa. Śrī(?)Soma the leader of the Sogi, son of Jayavarman and grandson of Prabhagva (?) Vardhan dominated at that time. He was born in the Mālava stock and became as famous as the Ikṣvāku⁸. This

1. A.S. Altekar, *The State and government in ancient India*, p. 120.

2. VII, 102.9.

3. R.B. Pandeya, *Vikramāditya of Ujjayini*, p. 80.

4. J. Przyluski, JA (1926), pp. 1, 20.

5. *Mahābhārata* V.

6. Ibid. *Dronaparvan*, 10.17.

7. Ibid. *Sabhāparvan*, 32.7.

8. Ep: Ind. vol. XXVII, p. 252.

record describes the chiefs as Rājārṣi. On account of the achievements of Soma the country became prosperous and free. He fought against the Western Kshatrapas and became successful in freeing his country from all dangers, as we know that the Mālavas did not allow the Kshatrapas to rule over them peacefully. They used to rise in rebellion and furtively attack the allies of their conqueror.

The phrase in the above inscription indicates that they belonged to the solar race of the Mālavas. This is approved by the Buddhist literature also⁹. We learn from the Mahābhārata that they were connected with the important Kshatriya dynasties of the time.

The ancient tribe of the Mālavas was very warlike. Their main body had joined the Kauravas and had fought against the Pāṇḍavas in many crucial battles. They rallied round Duryodhana and his brothers when at one occasion Bhīṣma happened to be in danger¹⁰. Though Arjuna gave them a crushing blow, they had once charged him with a very mighty force¹¹. They, along with the Bāhlikas, Dardas, Śibis, Vṛṣṇis, Trigarttas, Ambaṣṭhas and the Kekayas etc., had given protection to Bhīṣma.

Pliny, the Roman writer, has given them yet another name. He calls them with the names of *Sydra* and *Malli*.

Pāṇini has not mentioned the Mālavas by name. He speaks of certain tribes as *ayudhajīvisanḡha*¹² (the tribes living by the profession of arms). Among these *saṅghas*, were the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas. We find them mentioned by name, Mālava, in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali¹³.

In the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta the Mālavas are included in the list of northern people who are mentioned to have paid homage to the Gupta monarch¹⁴.

9: The *Mahāparinibbāna sutta*, *Divyāvadāna*.

10. Mbh. VI, 47. 15-16.

11. Ibid. VI, 55-74.

12. V. 3.117.

13. IV. 1.68.

14. J.F. Fleet, Corp. Inscr. Ind., vol. III, No. I, plate I, lines 22-28.

Curtius¹⁵ observes that the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas were often at war with each other but at the time of the invasion of Alexander, they had put their maximum efforts to cement their differences and draw closer, to ensure security from the common danger¹⁶. According to Diodorus¹⁷, they resorted to intermarriages also by giving or taking in exchange 10,000 of their young women for wives.

From the above convincing facts, we find the theory of Thirwall,¹⁸ and of Przyluski¹⁹ refuted. Thirwall has considered the Kshudrakas to be Śūdras. While Przyluski considers them to be the 'aborigines of short stature' as the word meaning of Kshudraka reveals, and who were definitely shorter in stature than the men of Afghanistan or Iran.

The Mālavas should be connected with the people of Malwa if we take into our consideration the find spots of their coinage, though Besanagar and Ujjain were their principal cities, coinage having been found there. There are no coins or any other piece of archaeological evidence which could be definitely ascribed to the Mālavas prior to their being incorporated in the Nanda empire. While Rapson refers to some of the surviving coins to the Mālavas, Allan ascribes them to the later Mālavas of eastern Rajputana²⁰.

Alexander's historians who have made the earliest definite mention of the Mālavas, refer them as Malloi, Malli or Mallai associated with the *Oxydrakai*, *Sudracae*, *Hydrakai* or *Sydracae*. In the Sanskrit literature Mālavas and Kshudrakas have been mentioned²¹.

The Greek writers have magnified Alexander and have tried to convey the impression that the Mālava tribe was practically annihilated by him but this was not the case. Arrian tells us that the leading men from the Mallois and the Oxydrakois had gone to

15. J.W. McCrindle, I.I.A., p. 150.

16. Ibid. p. 234.

17. Ibid. p. 287.

18. *History of Greece*, VII ch. 54.

19. *Ancient peoples of the Punjab*, p. 36.

20. JBORS vol. XXIII, pt. III (1937), p. 311.

21. I.A. vol. I, p. 23,

Alexander to conclude a treaty. Had there been a practical annihilation, there must not have been the necessity of such a treaty. Besides this, Alexander never concluded treaties with the people of *Messaga*, *Arnos* and with Darius III etc. Treaties are possible only with partially defeated people.

Of course the Mālavas could not prove a proper match to the soldiers of the Macedonian conqueror, who were trained and officered by veteran generals of ancient Greece.

During the Śuṅga time the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas appear again. Some of the victories of the Kshudrakas which they had achieved alone, have been mentioned by Patañjali²². But the Kshudrakas are not traceable in the subsequent centuries. It is probable that they were amalgamated with the Mālavas during their migration from Punjab to eastern Rajputana about 150-120 B.C. The Mālavas were in their new homes as we find the earliest types of their coins at Karkotanagar (Jaipur area)²³. It appears that the Mālavas migrated via Bhatinda (Patiala area) as the traces of their Mālawāi dialect extend from Ferozepur to Bhatinda²⁴. They migrated to the Jaipur region of Rajputana from Punjab. This is supported from the fact that the legends in some of the Mālava coins found in Rajputana have to be read from right to left as in Kharoṣṭhī. Kharoṣṭhī was the prevalent script in Punjab and the north-west from very early time.

Their migration from the fertile lands of Punjab to the dreary desert area of Rajputana testifies their love for liberty. They believed that their country was there, where they lived. They were ready to sacrifice even their paternal homes and lands for the preservice of their political self and soul. They justified the settled principles of Hindu politics that freedom is more important than homes and it is to be preserved at the cost of the latter.

The Mālavas performed the *ekaśaṣṭi* sacrifice at Nandsā in Udaipur state to celebrate the liberation of their country. This was done by Soma, their leader. An inscription of this ruler dated in the year 226 A.D., has been discovered, announcing how freedom

22. V. 3.58.

23. V.A. Smith, C.C.I.M. vol. I, p. 161.

24. *Linguistic survey of India*—IX, i. p. 709.

and prosperity had returned to the country of the Mālavas. Though the enemies of the Mālavas are not mentioned, it is certain that they must have been the Western Kshatrapas because the western Rajputana is known to have been ruled by them ever since Rudradāman I. Neither the Western Kshatrapas nor the Kuṣāṇas were able to impose their hegemony over the Mālavas hence forward.

The Mālavas got a golden opportunity to reassert their independence when there was a prolonged war of succession in the Śaka kingdom between Jayadāman and his uncle Rudrasimha I which resulted in the weakening of the Kshatrapa power. They continued to rule till the time of Samudragupta who reduced them to vassalage. This is further confirmed from the fact that their coins are not found after A.D. 350 when they ceased to be independent. They came into conflict with Nahapāna son-in-law of Ushavadāta who subdued them with the help of his allies, the Uttamabhadras²⁵. The Śaka ruler kept the Mālavas subdued till the end of the 2nd century A.D.²⁶.

More than once the brave tribe of the Mālavas offered determined opposition from their fortified cities which fell one by one to the sword of Alexander and his generals. Mālavas deserted their cities and preferred to make the desert and jungles their homes rather than submitting to the conquering hoards. They had formed an alliance with the Kshudrakas who were their southern neighbours, to meet the invasion but Alexander struck against them before the armies of the Kshudrakas could affect a junction.

One of the greatest reasons of their political strength was that the republic was a nation-in-arms. All the members of the tribe were soldiers. They were a citizen army and were, therefore, naturally, superior to mercenary soldiers. Pāṇinī has also referred to the Mālavas as living by the profession of arms. Arrian included them among the self-governing Indians and remarked that they were most numerous and the most warlike of the Indians. Whenever there was a problem of either defence or offence, they formed leagues with other neighbouring powers. These leagues used to be regarded as 'invincible'. We know of this practice with many ancient Hindu tribal republics who had formed the following leagues :—

1. The league of the 6 Trigarttas (of the grammarians).
2. The league of the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas.

25. R.K. Mookerji, *The Gupta empire*, 1959, p. 24.

26. R.C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *The Vākātaka Gupta age*, p. 34.

3. The league of the Videhas and the Licchavis and
4. The league of the Andhakas and the Vṛṣṇis.

Chandragupta and Poros formed a coalition of leading states and peoples of Punjab for invasion on Magadha after the liquidation of the Greek influence in the north-west. The Śakas, Yavanas, Kirātas, Kambojas, Pārasikas, Bāhlikas, Kulūtas, Kaśmīras, Kshatras (*Xathrois*) and the Mālavas (Mallois) and also the kings of the Sindhu regions and the Persian commander, had joined them. The Mālava leader proved greatly instrumental in the success of this campaign which swept the Magadhan empire of the Nandas.

A feudatory of Vikramāditya IV named *Daṇḍanayaka* Anantapāla is said to have subdued the Sapta Mālava countries up to the Himālayas. It appears that there were as many as seven small countries called with the same name. It is probable that these seven would have been the following²⁷.

- (1) Mo-La-Po (Mālavaka-Āhāra of Vallabhī grants).
- (2) Avanti (ruled by a Brāhmin family at the time of Hiuen-Tsang).
- (3) *Purva*-Mālava (round Bhilsa).
- (4) District round Prayāga.
- (5) Fatehpur district (Uttar Pradesh).
- (6) The cis-Sutlej districts of Pañjāb and
- (7) Some other Himālayan territory.

Some historians have considered the Mālavas to have a foreign origin. This is perhaps because of the lack of discrimination at an earlier stage between the Āryan and non-Āryan elements that fused and evolved the Mālava²⁸ stock in the Maru (desert) and fertile fields of Rajputana, and also because some scholars have read on their coins very queer names appearing to be un-Indian. But this reading itself is doubtful because the letters of the coins are blurred and they cannot be read with certainty. Smith, on this very basis considers

27. H.C. Ray Chaudhuri, *PHAI*, IV ed., p. 492, fn. 4.

28. V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 163, fn. 1.

the Mālavas to be of foreign origin²⁹, while Allan considers the peculiar names on the coins to stand for the original inscription 'Malavānām jayaḥ' and K. P. Jayaswal considers them to be an amalgam of the initial letters of the name of the tribe, the name of the clan and the name of the leader. The view of K.P. Jayaswal alone appears to be correct.

There is yet another possibility of their (these coins bearing the peculiar names) having travelled to the places of their provenance from outside. We have discussed elsewhere³⁰ about the scope and limitations of numismatic evidence cannot be considered to reveal correct historical date, however correct our interpretations and readings may be.

The organisation of the Mālavas under a tribal constitution and their not being governed by monarchs is confirmed by the Mandisor inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana which contains legend—'gaṇasthiti vaśat.' This legend has been interpreted by J.F. Fleet to mean the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas³¹.

The republic of the Mālavas was administered by elected tribal chiefs like the Yaudheyas' republic. Sometimes these chiefs became hereditary. We are aware of the description of Śrī (?) Soma who liberated the Mālavas. He has been mentioned as supporting the ancestral yoke of public administration and we know that none of his forefathers had the royal or military title like *Maharaja* or *Mahasenāpati* or *Senapati*. It is clear from this that the tribe maintained the glorious tradition of a republican form of administration. Even their recorded proclamations about their great achievement of freeing their territory from foreign yoke do not contain any mention of any royal title to a single individual leader. Yet there is a mention in the same inscription that the head of the state was called *netā*³². Though the *gaṇa* did not become nonentity, the hereditary tendency of leadership among the Mālavas made the position of this *netā* very strong. His strength, of course, depended

29. Ibid. pp. 174-76.

30. M.K. Sharan, *Tribal coins : a study*, ch. I.

31. V.A. Smith, JRAS, 1897, p. 884.

32. Ep. Ind. vol. XXVII.

much upon his individuality, personality and initiative. We know of the dignified position of Vikramāditya who was one of their such *netās*.

This *netā* performed the duties in the capacity of military executive and judicial head. He was leader of the army during operations and he looked into the affairs of the state during peace. He was the representative of the whole tribe competent to enter a treaty or an alliance.

He had under him a council of ministers that used to advise him in the performance of his duties. Vikramāditya was advised by such a council which consisted of 6 members as referred to by Amarasiṃha³³.

These advisors (ministers) were :—

1. *Mahāmātra* or *Pradhāna*.
2. *Mantri*, *Dhīśaciva* or *Amātya*.
3. *Karmasaciva*.
4. *Purohita*.
5. *Prāḍyīpāka* and
6. *Akṣadarśaka*.

Many of the tribes of western India including the Mālavas became tributaries to the Guptas in the 4th c. A.D. We know very little about their organisational set-up after this period, but it is presumed that it must have been federal. Large number of petty chieftains appear to have been headed by a single head who held office with their consent.

The *Mālavas* issued copper currency a proof of their having an independent state. Their coins are found all over the wide area from the Sutlej to the Narmadā and have an equally wide range in time from 250 B.C. to 350 A.D. In the vast range of ancient Indian coinage, the coins of the Mālavas are the most curious and enigmatic³⁴. The small coins which contained the name *Malavana* on them are considered to be the first in the series of coinage of this tribe.³⁵

33. *Amarakoṣa*, II, 8.4-5.

34. V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

35. ASIAR, vol. XIV, p. 149.

Most of the coins of the Mālavas contain the term *gaṇa*³⁶. This inscription also speaks of the *Malava gaṇa*. Rai Bahadur Ojha, Monier-Williams and Fleet have taken the word to mean *jati*. Monier-Williams has translated the word *gaṇa* to mean tribe in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary. It was this meaning which was adopted by Fleet in his translation of the phrase *Malavagaṇasthiti* which occur in the two Mandsor inscriptions³⁷. But he was challenged by Thomas in regard to the renderings of the word *gaṇa*³⁸. And the Rai Bahadur meant not only a tribe but also a caste. K.P. Jayaswal was the first scholar to point out their mistake. He suggests that the *gaṇa* signifies "Republic"³⁹. Bhandarkar afterwards pointed out that it denoted a tribal oligarchy a federation of clans and it has now been universally accepted to be the correct interpretation.

The name of the Mālavas survives even today in the close community of the Brahmins called *Malavis* which has since been sanskritised as *Malaviya*. They are fair-complexioned and handsome people noted for their sharpness of business intelligence. They are, however, known not establishing matrimonial relations outside their own community. A far removed colony of the Mālaviyas existed in the vicinity of Allahabad. They are also found in Gujārat and Madhya Pradesh. The most noteworthy personage of this caste has been Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya⁴⁰.

The *Sikhs* of the districts of Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Patiala, Jind and Malerkotla are still known as Mālava Sikhs⁴¹. It is probably because their regions belonged to the Mālavas in ancient times.

36. For Mālava coinage cf. M.K. Sharan, *op. cit.* cf. III.

37. J.F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

38. JRAS, 1914, pp. 413, 1010.

39. HP, p. 162.

40. Wilson, *Indian castes*, vol. II, pp. 114, 189.

41. Buddha Prakash, PSMAP. 1964, p. III.

Abbreviations used in the article

AGI	Ancient geography of India.
ASIAR.	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.
CCIM.	Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta.
GAP.	Glimpses of ancient Punjab.
HP.	Hindu polity.
IA.	Indian Antiquary.
IIA.	Invasion of India by Alexander the great.
JA.	Journal Asiatique.
JBORS.	Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JRAS.	Journal Royal Asiatic Society.
PHAI.	Political history of ancient India.
PSMAP.	Political and social movements in ancient Punjab, from the Vedic age upto the Maurya period.

D. R. BHANDARKAR'S VIEWS ON THE KṚTA ERA

V: V. MIRASHI

D. R. Bhandarkar's recently published work *Inscriptions of the early Gupta kings* (Corpus Inscriptionum indicarum, vol. III) contains some inscriptions of both the Gupta and the Kṛta Era. As the Guptas had their own era commencing in A.D. 315, the work naturally includes all the so far published inscriptions dated in that era, but it also includes some more dated in another era named Kṛta. Bhandarkar has discussed, in a separate chapter, some questions concerning that era such as how it came to be known by the name of Kṛta, who started it and where it was in vogue. It is necessary to examine his views in the interest of historical truth. An attempt in that direction has been made in the sequel.

The volume includes only three inscriptions dated in the Kṛta era. They are as follows :

1. The Mandasor stone inscription of Naravarman (*C.I.I.*, III, pp. 251 ff.), Kṛta Year 461. The inscription gives the following genealogy :—Jayavarman—Siṃhavarman—Naravarman, and states its date as follows :

श्रीमालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते ।
एकषष्ट्यधिके प्राप्ते समाशतचतुष्टये ॥

2. The Bihar Kotra (in the former Raigarh State, Central India) inscription of Naravarman (*C.I.I.*, III, pp. 266 ff.) (Kṛta) Samvat 474. This inscription contains the following date in twentieth regnal year of Naravarman of the Aulikara family :

चतुर्षु वर्षशतेषु चतुःसप्ततिषु श्रावणशुक्लद्वादश्याम् ।

3. The Mandasor stone inscription of Bandhuvarman (*C.I.I.*, III, pp. 322 ff.). This inscription mentions two dates—the first is of the reign of Bandhuvarman while the Gupta king Kumāragupta I was ruling over the earth, and the second is of a later time :

1. The year 493—

मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये ।
 त्रिनवत्यधिकेब्दानामृती सेव्यघनस्तने ॥
 सहस्यमासशुक्लस्य प्रशस्तेऽह्नि त्रयोदशे ।
 मङ्गलाचारविधिना प्रासादोयं निवेशितः ॥

2. The year 529—

वत्सरशतेषु पंचसु विशत्यधिकेषु नवसु चाब्देषु ।
 यातेष्वभिरम्यतपस्यमासशुक्लद्वितीयायाम् ॥

The kings mentioned in these three inscriptions (except Kumāragupta I) were of the Aulikara family, and not of the Gupta family. There was no reason why these inscriptions should have been included in this Gupta volume. But one of the records (viz. the last one) incidentally mentions the Gupta King Kumāragupta I¹. So that inscription of Bandhuvarman and the other two of the same Aulikara family seem to have been included in the volume. All of them are dated in the Kṛta era, though this is stated explicitly only in the first inscription. Bhandarkar has, therefore, discussed the various problems connected with that era in a special chapter.

The Kṛta era was connected with the Mālavas as stated explicitly in the first and the last inscription cited above. About sixty years ago D.R. Bhandarkar contributed an article on the Vikrama era to the Felicitation volume in honour of his father R.G. Bhandarkar, in which he stated that the Mālava *gaṇa* mentioned in some of the above cited expressions signified the Mālava tribe ; but later, he accepted the meaning 'reckoning' of the word *gaṇa* pointed out by Shembavanekar². He has understood the same meaning of *gaṇa* in the present volume. He takes मालवानां गणस्थित्या in the sense of 'according to the reckoning of the Mālavas'. He does not, however, state how the mode of reckoning current among the Mālavas was different from that of other people. Besides, this meaning of *gaṇa* will not suit the expression *Śrī Malavagaṇāmnate* in the first inscription cited above. So *gaṇa* must have had some other meaning.

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III (ed. by D. R. Bhandarkar) (CII.), pp. 322 ff. Kumāragupta I is not mentioned in this record as the Suzerain of Bandhuvarman but as a well-known king of the time. Otherwise, the inscription would have been dated in the Gupta era.

2. *Ibid.* p. 189.

In ancient times there were several kingdoms of the *gaṇa* or republican type. Several *gaṇa* states such as the Mālavas, Kṣudrakas, Yaudheyas, Ārjunāyanas and Sanakānikas find mention in ancient inscriptions, old Sanskrit works and accounts of Greek writers who accompanied Alexander to India. Of these, the Mālavas, like the Kṣudrakas, were of the military type (*Āyudhajivisaṅgha*). They are mentioned in the Mahabhāṣya of Patañjali and in the Kāśikā, a commentary on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. The Greek writers of the age mention the Mālavas as Malloi. They then lived near the confluence of the Rāvī and the Cināb in the Punjab. They harassed Alexander very much on his return journey. Later, when the foreign tribes of the Greeks, the Scythians, the Pārthians and the Kuṣāṇas made incursions into their territory, these freedom-loving Mālavas moved to the south and settled down for some time in the region of the former Jaipur state. Their capital at the time was Nagara or Karkoṭanagara in that state. From a Nasik cave inscription we learn that they were occupying the south-east part of Rajasthan in the second century A.D. When they attacked the Kṣatriya tribesmen Uttamabhadras, Ṛṣabhadatta, son-in-law of the Kṣatrapa Nahapāna, went to their rescue. He routed the Mālavas and then went to the Puṣkara *tirtha* near Ajmer for a holy bath³. This account shows that the Mālavas were then settled in the south-east part of Rajasthan.

Numerous coins of the Mālavas have been found in Nagara or Karkoṭanagara in Rajasthan. Some of them have the legend *Malavana jaya* and some others *Mālavagaṇasya jayaḥ*. Some of them go back to the first century B.C. They show that they were issued to commemorate a brilliant victory of the Mālavas. The Mālavas had their own era called *Kṛta* commencing in 58 B.C. which they seem too have started after that victory. The old Indian method of recording a date was by citing the regnal year of the then ruling king and not by citing an era as no era was then current. Later, several eras came into vogue such as those of the Ābhīras, the Gaṅgas and the Guptas; but the Mālava era is the oldest of the Indian eras known so far. It was originally current in the country of the Mālavas, but later it spread to other regions as shown below.

Some scholars say that this era of the Mālavas was really started by the Śaka Emperor Vonones and was later adopted by the

3. V. V. Mirashi, *History and inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas (HISWK)*, p. 111.

Mālavas. But this is extremely unlikely. The freedom-loving Mālavas who left their original fertile home land in the Panjab and repaired to distant Rajasthan for maintaining their independence are not likely to have adopted another's era and used it as their own. The Aulikaras who were of their stock were equally spirited. Yaśodharman, the last of the known Aulikaras, proudly states in his Mandasor pillar inscription that his country was never conquered even by the Gupta kings who had overrun the whole earth⁴. So the Kṛta era was evidently started by the Mālava *gaṇa*.

The Mālavas named their era as Kṛta Saṁvat. Scholars have suggested several explanations of this name. Bhandarkar has put forward two explanations. The first of these is as follows. The era was named Kṛta because it was started in the Kṛta Age. That Age began in 58 B.C. The Purāṇas state that the Kali Age had come to an end then and the Kṛta Age had commenced. The *Vanaparyan*⁵ of the Mahābhārata thus describes the situation in the country at the time. "The Śūdras will expound the religious works and the Brāhmaṇas will listen to them. The earth will be covered with the *eḍukas* (Buddhist stūpas). The Mlecchas will occupy it. The Kṛta Yuga will then commence again. A Brāhmaṇa named Viṣṇuśāśa will be known as Kalkī. He will exterminate the Dasyus and will establish the Kṛta Age on the earth." Bhandarkar says that this description suits the time of the Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra very well. He says that on the evidence of the dynastic lists given in the Purāṇas, Puṣyamitra's time is taken to be 80 B.C., but it is more likely to be 58 B.C. if we utilise the evidence of the Ayodhya inscription⁶ of Dhanadeva. In that record Dhanadeva is described as the sixth descendant of Puṣyamitra. Several scholars have, on palaeographic evidence, fixed the date of Dhanadeva's inscription as the first century A.D. If we assume it to be 75 A.D. and take the duration of a generation as 25 years, the date of Puṣyamitra will be (A.D. 75 minus 150 years=) 75 B.C. He performed two horse-sacrifices as stated in Dhanadeva's inscription. He must have performed the first of these soon after his accession, and the second later in 58 B.C. to establish his supermacy on a firm footing. The Kṛta era was probably started at the time of the second horse-

4. V. V. Mirashi, *Indological research papers (IRP)*, p. 105.

5. Corp. Inscr. Ind., vol. III, p. 197.

6. Ep. Ind. XX, p. 57.

sacrifice when the Kṛta Age commenced. Hence the Kṛta era seems to have been founded in 58 B.C. to mark the commencement of the Kṛta Age.

There are several disputable points in this first explanation of the origin of the Kṛta era offered by Bhandarkar. The date of the Ayodhya inscription of Dhanadeva has been fixed on palaeographic evidence. Such dates are not regarded as fully reliable. Again, the duration of a royal generation is generally taken to be 15 to 18 years. It is rarely as high as 25 years. Puṣyamitra is generally placed in the period 187 to 150 B.C.⁷ So this first explanation offered by Bhandarkar does not stand scrutiny. Bhandarkar himself was probably conscious of its weak points. So he has offered another explanation of the name of the Kṛta era as stated below.

In his second explanation Bhandarkar understands the word Kṛta in Kṛta Saṁvat in the sense of 'made' or 'invented' by astronomers for the purpose of reckoning years'. It somehow caught the imagination of the people who, therefore, began to use it as kṛta or 'made' or 'invented'. So in referring to that era such expressions as *Malavanām gaṇasthitya* or *Malava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt* have been used. Bhandarkar has himself translated the expression as 'according to the reckoning of the Mālavas'.

This second explanation also is not acceptable. The era did not start in the country of Malwa. Its early inscriptions have been discovered far away from modern Malwa—at Badwa in the former Kota State, Barnala in the erstwhile Jaipur State and other places in Rajasthan. At that time the present country of Malwa was known by the name of Ākarāvanti⁸. It was under the rule of the Western Kṣatrapas, and so the era current there was the Śaka era of A.D. 78 and not the Kṛta era. An era generally spreads with the spread of political power. It does not spread because it catches the imagination of the inhabitants of a country. The Kṛta era is no exception.

Who then founded the era? The answer to this question is supplied by *Śrī-Malava-gaṇāmnate* in the first inscription cited above. It says that the era was traditionally handed down among the Mālava gaṇa or the republican tribe of the Mālavas. *Gaṇa* in

7. *History and culture of the Indian people*, II, p. 97.

8. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, pp. 42 ff.

that expression does not mean *gaṇanā* or 'reckoning', but 'a republican state'.

As stated above, these people of the Mālava *gana* lived originally in the region near the confluence of the Rāvi and the Cināb. When foreign invaders like the Greeks, the Scythians and the Parthians attacked their territory these Mālavas migrated to other lands such as the former states of Kota, Jaipur and Udaipur in Rajasthan. They were residing in these parts of the country in the time of Samudragupta. From there they moved to the northern parts of Ākarāvanti or modern Malwa. They settled down there in such large numbers that the country came to be known by their name. The date of this large scale migration can be fixed approximately. Their oldest inscription in Central India gives the following genealogy of their chiefs, the Aulikara kings: Jayavarman-Simhavarman-Naravarman. No records of the first two kings have yet come to notice, but Naravarman's inscriptions range in date from the Kṛta year 461 (A.D. 404) to the Kṛta year 474 (A.D. 417). He may, therefore, have ruled from *circa* A.D. 400 to A.D. 420. His grandfather Jayavarman may have flourished from A.D. 370 to A.D. 385. He seems to have conquered the northern part of Ākarāvanti in *circa* A.D. 385. He made Daśapura (modern Mandasor) his capital. The Guptas seem to have captured the southern part of Ākarāvanti in about this very period. They had come as far as Vidiśa in the time of Samudragupta. An inscription⁹ at Vidiśa states that Chandragupta II had come to the place 'for conquering the whole world'. He seems to have invaded and captured the southern part of Ākarāvanti in *circa* A.D. 395 at the latest, judging by the available numismatic evidence¹⁰. He then made Ujjayini in Southern Ākarāvanti his second capital.

These incursions of the Mālavas and the Guptas in Central India seem to have been planned as parts of a joint strategy. The relations of the Aulikaras and the Guptas continued to be cordial thereafter also. The Guptas next conquered a large part of North India and spread their era far and wide, but the era did not penetrate to North Malwa though the distance between the capitals of the Guptas and the Aulikaras was not more than 75 miles as the crow flies. Several inscriptions of the Aulikaras have been discovered till now, but none of them is dated in the Gupta era. The Guptas and the Aulikaras

9. Corp. Inscr. Ind. vol. III, p. 256.

10. HISWK, p. 83.

lived amicably and rushed to each other's aid in times of difficulty. In an inscription at Mandasor the Aulikara king Prabhākara is described as 'fire to the trees in the form of the enemies of the Gupta family'¹¹.

All inscriptions of the Aulikara kings are dated in the Kṛta era. In order to differentiate it from the Gupta era which was current in the region surrounding their country, the Aulikaras used to state its name specifically in their records or to mention that the particular year was cited according to the *sthiti* (custom) of the Mālava *gaṇa*. This era was then current in the northern parts of Mālwa. Later, when their great king Yaśodharman defeated the Hūṇa chief Mihirakula in *circa* A.D. 530 and carried his arms to distant parts of North India, the era seems to have spread there. This is shown by the Haraha stone inscription¹² of the Maukhari king Īśanavarman dated only about twenty-five years later in the year 611 (A.D. 554) of that era. But the name Kṛta and the specification that it was cited according to the custom of the Mālava *gaṇa* do not occur therein. It was, however, remembered that the era was of the kings of the Mālavas (*Malaveśanam*). In course of time it came to be associated with the name of the great Gupta king Candragupta II, who had ruled from his capital Ujjayinī in the Mālava country. He had assumed the title of Vikramāditya. So this era of 58 B.C. was supposed to have been started by king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī in that age. There is not, however, even an iota of evidence that a king named Vikramāditya flourished in the pre-Gupta age. This pseudo-Vikramāditya was supposed to have had all the great merits that the Gupta king Candragupta II is credited with, such as his valour, patronage to learning and art, benevolence etc., and he was regarded as the founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat. This notion has continued to this day.

The foregoing discussion has shown that both the explanations of the origin of the Kṛta era offered by Bhandarkar, namely (1) that it was started by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and (2) that it was invented by astronomers and was later adopted by the Mālavas do not stand scrutiny. It was really founded by the people of the Mālava *gaṇa* in commemoration of a brilliant victory won by them.

11. IRP. p. 102.

12. Ep, Ind. XLV, pp. 115 ff.

DETERMINATION AND DIVISION OF PROFIT IN ANCIENT INDIA

B. L. GUPTA

इन्द्रमुहं वृणिजं चोदयामि स न एते पुरेता नो अस्तु ।

नुदन्तराति परिपुन्थिनं मृगं स ईशानो धनुदा अस्तु मह्यम् ॥

(AV. III. 15. I)

Partnership or joint stock companies

In ancient India we find two principal forms of business organisation : Individual proprietorship, and partnership or joint concerns or joint stock companies.* In this second form, work is undertaken by several persons joining together and it is termed *sambhūya-samutthāna* in our ancient Indian literature. In Vedas and Dharma-sūtras there is hardly any treatment of this topic. In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (IX.1), we just find a reference with regard to the division of the booty, obtained in a battle, between the warrior and the charioteer. For the first time we find this term in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (III.14). Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are silent on civil partnership and even Manu (VIII.206-210) lays down rules only about the distribution of fees among sacrificial priests, and rules that the same principles be applied in all joint concerns. While Manu extends the rules in a religious rite to secular partnership, Yājñ. (II.265) reverses the rules and extends to sacrifices the rules of partnership among traders, husbandmen and craftsmen¹. From this it can be deduced that from Manu to Yājñavalkya slowly and slowly business partnership went on gaining more and more importance in the economy, and by the time of Yājñavalkya it became widely practised form of business organisation. In post-Maurya time we

* Here we are not distinguishing between partnership and joint stock companies in the modern sense of the term. We are taking them in the same sense meaning joint concerns or joint ventures.

1. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Introduction to Vyavahārakāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru*, pp. 51-52.

get the earliest epigraphic testimony regarding the existence of the guilds of artisans. Artisans were organised under their headman, who probably enjoyed the favour of the king. During the second century A.D. in the Śātavāhana territory money was deposited by the lay devotees of Buddhism with the potters, the oil-millers and the weavers' guilds (Lunder's list, Nos. 1133, 1137). In the same century a sum of money was deposited with the guild of flour makers at Mathura (Ep. Ind., XXI, No. 10)². When a work is taken jointly by several persons, the questions such as their contribution in the work, rights and responsibilities and division of profit arise. We shall try to analyse these various questions on the basis of our ancient lawgivers.

Meaning

According to Yajñavalkya (II.259) it can be defined as 'carrying on a business in partnership with a view to gain'³. Nārada makes it more clear when he defines, "Where traders or others carry on business jointly, it is called partnership, which is a title of law"⁴. Katyayana (624) extends the application of the term to the business of artisans and of unseparated brothers. Actually, all sorts of work undertaken jointly for the sake of gain comes under the scope of 'sambhūyasamutthāna'. When traders in trade, ṛtviks in sacrifice, cultivators in cultivation, artisans in art, dancers etc. in dancing etc. and even robbers in the act of robbing work, jointly with a view to gain, come under the title of 'sambhūyasamutthāna'⁵. Thus, joint concerns may be religious or secular, or even of persons engaged in the acts which would be termed now criminal, like dacoities committed in adjacent states by organised bands of robbers, who bring the plunder to their own territory⁶. Thus partnership was essentially a union of capital and effort⁷.

2. R.S. Sharma, *Light on early Indian society and economy*, p. 76.

3. समवायेन वणिजां लाभार्थं कर्म कुर्वताम् ।

(Yājñ. II-259)

4. वणिक्प्रभृतयो यत्र कर्म संभूय कुर्वते ।

तत्संभूयसमुत्थानं व्यवहारपदं स्मृतम् ॥

(Nār. III. 1)

5. *Smṛticandrikā*, 3 ; quoted in Dharma Kośa, vol. I, pt. II, p. 780.

6. K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

7. Magan Lal Buch, *Economic life in ancient India*, vol. I, Allahabad, 1979, p. 393.

Qualifications of partners

In a partnership business selection of partners is a very important task. Who should be and who should not be made partners in a joint concern has been discussed by Bṛhaspati (Bṛ.). In his opinion following persons should not be made partners by prudent men— incompetent or incapable, lazy, afflicted with disease, ill-fated, and destitute. On the other hand following persons are regarded worthy to be appointed as partners (or shareholders): persons of noble parentage, clever, active, intelligent, familiar with coins, skilled in revenue and expenditure, honest and enterprising⁸. It seems that Bṛ. was very clear that the wrong selection of partners may cause loss in business while the partners of requisite qualities will prove boon to business. From the qualifications and disqualifications suggested by Bṛ. it becomes clear that he was well aware about the need of the physical fitness, personal qualities, family background and technical (or business) knowledge of the partner for the success of the business. Bṛ. (XVII. 9) has also prescribed the qualities of heads of an association (or managing directors in the modern terminology). They should be honest persons, acquainted with the Vedas and their duty, self-controlled, sprung from noble families, and skilled in every business. Likewise we find the provision for board of advisors also. He (Bṛ. XVII. 10) says, "Two, three, or five persons shall be appointed as advisors of the association."

As we have already noticed that partnership may be undertaken in different forms of business and work, the rights and responsibilities of the partners and the distribution of profit will also differ accordingly. To understand all these various aspects we shall discuss the provisions with regard to various forms of partnership separately.

Partnership in trade or industry

We find some information in the Jātakas (Jāt.) as to the existence of joint undertakings such as caravan-merchants or sea-traders. Men often joined (each other) till the completion of their journey for trade. *Cullakasetṭhi* Jāt. (No. 4), describes the joint purchase made by 100 Benaras merchants from a going man who had purchased the contents of the ship by depositing his ring. The *Kaṭavaṇṇija* Jāt.

8. Bṛ. XIV. 1-2, SBE, vol. XXXIII, pt. I.

describes the union of two merchants from Benaras, who had carried five hundred waggons of merchandise each. Similarly the *Suhanu Jāt.* speaks of horse-dealers of north, who carried on their transactions jointly. Likewise the *Serivāṇija Jāt.* (No. 3) gives us the story of two hawkers carrying on business jointly and dividing the profits between them. The *Mahāvāṇija*, too, gives us the same information, e.g. of merchants going on jointly under an elected leader in search of treasures. The *Mahajanaka* speaks of similar agreements among sea-traders. The *Jarudapana* (256) gives us some more information and tells us that not only did the merchants proceed jointly, but divided a treasure-trove among them, showing the nature of the union⁹.

Even from Vedas we can infer that Paṇis and other merchants going to another country for sea-trade or land-trade might be in the nature of caravan-merchants.

In our ancient literature we find many words for guilds such as *kula*, *śreṇī*, *puga*, *nikaya*, *vrata*, *saṅgha*, *samuha*, *sambhūya samutthana*, *samudāya*, *pariṣat*, *varga*, *sārtha*, *nigama* etc. In Jātakas we find eighteen types of such guilds¹⁰. We find that the owners of merchandise hired out their goods to the enterprising people for a share in profit (Jat. vol. VI. p. 69 ; vol. IV. p. 256 ; vol. V. 436). This practice of sharing business by making merchandise on loan and living on the surplus profit was very popular in those days (Dīghanikaya, II. p. 69 ; Milinda, 39)¹¹. It seems that Pāṇinī's *sāṃsthānikāḥ* (4.4.72) were the same type of traders as *sārthavaḥas* in the later period of Jātakas.

Shares of partners

In a share-holding company (or partnership business) shares of the different share-holders (or partners) become the basis of their Association. Every partner has to contribute something to the common stock of the company to become a partner in its business.

9. N.C. Bandopadhyaya, *Economic life and progress in ancient India*, vol. I, pt. I, Calcutta, 1945, pp. 262-63.

10. Jaishankar Mishra, *Prācīna Bharata kā sāmājika itihāsa*, Patna, 1980, p. 619.

11. Balram Srivastava, *Trade and commerce in ancient India*, Varanasi, 1968, p. 211.

Now the question arises how much a partner should contribute ? He may contribute either equally or in any other proportion as agreed upon among the partners. In this regard Nārada states, "where several partners are jointly carrying on business for the purpose of gain, the contribution of funds towards the common stock of the association forms the basis (of their undertaking). Therefore let each contribute his proper share." The text is so expounded by Candēśvara that without a capital or stock the trade cannot be carried on ; therefore, let all contribute wealth and supply what is required for trade, as the hire of boats, oxen, and other means of carriage. "In proportion to their shares" means, let not one furnish the whole¹². It can be explained with an example. If in a company there are four share-holders and the total share capital of the company is Rs. 1000, this share-capital is divided among 100 shares, each worth Rs. 10. Now if all these share-holders are equal partners in the company, then each of them will purchase 25 shares and will contribute Rs. 250. But if their shares are in the ratio of 4 : 3 : 2 : 1 then they shall purchase 40, 30, 20 and 10 shares respectively and accordingly contribute 400, 300, 200 and 100 rupees in the total capital of the company. So it is clear that every partner or share-holder will contribute in the total stock of the company in accordance with his share. According to Śukra (II, 313) shares contributed or to be contributed by various partners should be written down in partnership deed. In addition to this, charges for stores, food (i.e. way charges when anyone of the partners goes to another country to buy or sell), charges for tolls and the like, the loss, the freight, and the expenses of keeping valuables have to be defrayed by all the partners in due shares, according to the terms originally agreed upon and the several shares contributed by them. It means all the partners must share all the legitimate expenses of the business such as those incurred by (a) purchase and sale of merchandise, (b) provision for necessary travelling and way charges, (c) wages of labourers, (d) realisation of dues, (e) freight, (f) care of treasures etc¹³.

12. Colebrooke's Digest (Col. Dig.) I, III, 3.

13. Nār. III, 4, SBE vol. XXXIII, pt. I, fn. p. 124 ; Kāt. 625 ; Col. Dig. I, III, 7 ; A.N. Bose, *Early industrial organisation in north India*, IHQ, vol. XX, June, 1944.

Division of profits

How should the profit or loss be divided among different partners of a joint concern is an important question which is to be answered. We find two main principles for the distribution of profit among partners :—

(i) **According to the capital invested (*yathādravyam*)**:—It says that the profit or loss shall be divided among various partners according to the capital invested by them or according to the share of a partner in the common stock. The loss or profit of each partner is either equal to that of the other partners, or exceeds them, or remains below them, according to his share being equal or greater, or less to theirs¹⁴. This can be explained by our previous example. If in the total capital (i.e. Rs. 1000/-) of the company, every partner contributes equally (i.e. Rs. 250/-) and if the company earns a profit of Rs. 100/-, then each partner will receive his share of the profit also equally, i.e. Rs. 25/-. But if these four partners contribute their share in the ratio of 4 : 3 : 2 : 1, profit will also be divided in the same ratio. This system of the division of profit is quite analogous to the present day system of the distribution of profit among the ordinary share-holders of a joint stock company. So it is clear that the division of the profit in a trading company should take place according to the capitals laid down and the expenses and actual losses too are to be divided in the same ratio. Long back even in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī* (5. 1. 56) we find the word *vasna* in the sense of the capital invested in the joint business. Everybody receives his shares in the profit according to his capital investment. He whose share was five in a hundred was called *pañcaka*¹⁵.

(ii) **According to the agreement (*yathāsainvida*)**—It is not always essential that every partner will get profit only in proportion to his share in the joint capital of the firm. It is just possible that the partners may decide by mutual consent to give a special share to a particular partner because of his special quality or position in the business or out of regard or out of some other considerations which they think worthwhile to be considered. That is why Yājñavalkya (II. 259) has clearly prescribed if there be a special agreement

14. Yājñ. II. 259 ; Nār. III. 3 ; Br. XIV. 3-4 ; Kāt. 624, 626 ; Śukra IV. 824 ; Col. Dig. I, III, 4.

15. V.S. Agrawala, *India in the age of Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1953, p. 240.

concerning profit and loss, let the profit and loss be distributed among partners accordingly. It implies that this sort of special agreement regarding the division of profit should be done in the beginning of the business and it should be written down in the partnership deed. Thus by virtue of this previous agreement some of the partners, probably on account of their greater skill and special knowledge, might enjoy a greater share of the profit than was warranted by the amount of money contributed by them.

As we have already seen, there are several references in Jātakas to merchants entering into partnership, either permanently or on specified occasions only. From the story of *Kuṭavāṇija Jāt.* (Jāt. I, No. 98) an idea can be drawn about the division of profit among the partners. It is stated that two merchants called respectively the "wise" and the "wisest" entered into partnership and took 500 waggons of merchandise from Benaras to the country-side, where they disposed off their wares, returning afterwards with the proceeds to the city. When the time of division came, the wisest demanded a double share. He argued, "I am the wisest while you are simply a wise". But the wise refused to accept his plea and answered, "we both had an equal interest in the stock-in-trade and in oxen and waggons". On this question they quarrelled and finally they agreed upon equal division. From this story two important conclusions can be drawn :—

(i) It was recognised as a general principle that profit should be proportionate to the share one contributes to the stock-in-trade. That is why, because of their equal share, they divided the profit equally.

(ii) The idea of awarding special share for greater skill in business was not altogether unknown in those days. But for this there should be a previous agreement among the partners, otherwise they won't get such special shares¹⁶.

From another *Kuṭavāṇija Jāt.* (Jāt. vol. II, No. 218) we come to know about the partnership between two traders of *Savatthi*, one pious and the other a cheat. When the pious trader suggested for the division of the profit, the cheat tried to evade the division but finally the cheat had to agree to the division of profit.

16. Ratilal Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, Bombay, 1939, p. 218.

Liabilities and responsibilities of partners

Joint liability is an important feature of partnership business and we find many provisions in this regard in our ancient literature. Whatever is obtained or preserved by the members of a corporation, or spent on behalf of the society, or acquired through the king's favour is common to all members of the society¹⁷. In the same way whatever property one partner may give (or lend), duly authorised by other partners, or whatever contract he may cause to be executed, all that is considered as having been done by all¹⁸. Thus it is clear that every partner is responsible or co-sharer in the act of others. This provision is in conformity with the provisions of sections 18-20 and 25 of the Indian partnership act 1932. But here Kātyāyana (674) has given an important warning and made an exception to this general rule. In his opinion a debt incurred by a partner for the purpose of the group, if misappropriated by him or used for his own purpose, must be paid by him only. It means other partners shall not be liable to pay such a debt. In this regard Kātyāyana's two more provisions are worth noting. Firstly those partners who subsequently enter into the group become equally entitled to the whole property and liability of the group. Secondly one who is inside a group (or a member of the company) is entitled to a share in the food, the partible things (like grain) in the charities, and religious duties (of the group), but one who has gone out of a group is not entitled to a share¹⁹. According to Br. (XIV. 6-7) all the partners are pronounced to be arbitrators and witnesses in doubtful cases and in case of fraud, unless a feud exists among them. When anyone of the partners is found out to have practised deceit in purchase or sale, he must be cleared on an oath or ordeal. But in the opinion of Yājñavalkya (II. 265) a man of crooked ways (i.e. a fraudulent partner) should be expelled without profit (i.e. giving him his principal capital only) by the other partners of the company, but a partner who is unable to act (though not fraudulent) can appoint as his substitute another man able to act. A fraudulent partner is of two descriptions like one who is averse to the performance of work and the other who embezzles property. In regard to

17. Br. XVII. 22, 24; Kāt. 677; cf. Yājñ. II. 189-90,

18. Br. XIV. 5; Kāt. 627.

19. Kāt. 675-76.

performance of work, a distinction must be admitted as suggested by common sense. The fraudulent partner forfeits the profit on that part of the business in regard to which he offends; not the whole profit. A partner having bought goods without fraud, sells them, and afterwards adopts fraudulent ways in his sales and purchases, but has committed no fraud in regard to the first stage, in that case he shall have a share of the profit but he forfeits the profit on that part concerning which the fraud was committed. In all cases, however, the fraudulent partner shall be expelled for a fraud is sufficient cause of expulsion²⁰.

It is prescribed that a partner is responsible for loss caused by him through negligence or acting against the instructions of partners or acting without being authorised by other partners and he is liable to give compensation to all his partners²¹. In the opinion of Br. (XIV. 8), when the principal stock or the profits are diminished, in the case of partnership, by the act of God or of the king, that loss must be borne by all the partners in proportion to their shares. It is also provided that a partner who saves by his own efforts any property from a danger apprehended through fate, king or robbers, should be allowed to have one tenth of the property saved by him as a reward for his trouble and all the partners including himself shall have their respective shares of the remainder²². Here a question arises, if a partner working against the will of the other partners, saves the stock by eluding the enemy, or by other means, but does not gain considerable profit, shall he receive a tenth part of the stock saved? Since the danger arose from his own fault, he is not entitled to a tenth part. It is also inferred, that, among ten partners, if three join in saving any property which is in danger of being lost in a river, or of being destroyed by fire, those three persons shall share one-tenth part only, which should be distributed in proportion to their respective exertions. On the other hand, if one partner opposed the attempt of saving the goods, the other remained silent, and the third approved the attempt, what is the law in this case? He who opposed it shall have no share of the gain on those goods. The person who remained silent shall have the share regularly allotted to him, and so shall he who assented to the attempt. He shall receive something

20. Col. Dig. I, III, 18; Kauṭ. III. 14 (Gairola's tr.).

21. Yājñ. II. 260; Nār. III. 5; Br. XIV. 9.

22. Yājñ. II. 260; Nār. III. 6; Br. XIV. 10; Kāt. 631.

more than the other as is declared by Āpastamba in respect of those who causes an act to be performed, who assents to it, and who actually performs it²³. Thus this provision refers to special rewards being given to worthy members. When one of those who trade in partnership goes abroad and dies, his heirs shall take his share, on failure of them his relatives or connexions, on failure of them the members of the joint trading partnership, and on failure of all these king can take it²⁴. Thus on the death of a partner his share goes either to his heirs or to the partners. In this way joint stock company also looked after the interests of the individual partner even after his death in ancient India.

Partnership among priests

When several priests work together in the performance of a holy rite, it also comes under the head of 'partnership' (*sambhūya-samutthāna*). Here all the priests contribute their labour in the performance of the work and accordingly receive their share in *dakṣiṇā*. We find a well-defined scheme of the division of *dakṣiṇā* among these priests in our ancient literature²⁵. Here an attempt is made to analyse the various aspects of the scheme of division with an example.

The principal priests officiating at a sacrifice, who are called 'ṛtviks' (ऋत्विक्), are 16 in number, who are distributed under four groups and four sets :—

Four groups

- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>adhvaryu</i> , | <i>pratiprasthātā</i> , | <i>neṣṭā</i> , | <i>unneta</i> . |
| 2. <i>brahma</i> , | <i>brahmaṇacchamsi</i> , | <i>agnidhra</i> , | <i>potā</i> . |
| 3. <i>hota</i> , | <i>maltrāvaruṇa</i> , | <i>acchavak</i> , | <i>grāvastut</i> . |
| 4. <i>udgata</i> , | <i>prastotā</i> , | <i>pratihariā</i> , | <i>subrahmaṇya</i> . |

23. Col. Dig. I, III. 14, 17.

24. Yājñ. II. 264 ; Nār. III. 7, 16-18 ; Bṛ. XIV. 11-14.

25. KŚr., 10.2.8-36 ; AśvŚr. 10.4.3.5 ; ĀpŚr. 13.5.6. 1-13 ; BŚr. 8.5. ; Manu VIII. 210-211 ; Mit. on Yājñ. II. 265 ; Bṛ. 1.13.20 (Aiyangar) ; Col. Dig. I, III. 35-36 ; A. Chinnaśwami Sastri, *Yajña Tattva Prakāśa* ; 1953, p. 76.

First name in each group may be considered the principal *ṛtvik* or leader of the group.

Four sets

I. *adhvaryu, brahmā, hota, udgata.*

This set is entitled to a half of the entire *dakṣiṇa* and known as *ardhinaḥ*.

II. *pratiprasthata, brāhmaṇacchamsi, maitravaruṇa, prastota.*

This set is entitled to a half of the first set and hence known as *tadardhinaḥ*.

III. *neṣṭa, agnīdhra, acchavak, pratiharta.*

It is entitled to a third of the first set and known as *tṛtīyinaḥ*.

IV. *unneta, pota, grāvastut, subrahmaṇya.*

It is entitled to a quarter of the first set and known as *padīnaḥ*.

Division of *dakṣiṇa* among these 16 *ṛtviks* assuming the total *dakṣiṇa* of 100 cows is given in the following table in 4 groups—

	1	2	3	4	
Sets	Adhvaryu (cows)	Brahmā (cows)	Hotṛ (cows)	Udgātṛ (cows)	Total (cows)
I. <i>ardhinaḥ</i>	<i>adhvaryu</i> 12	<i>brahmā</i> 12	<i>hota</i> 12	<i>udgata</i> 12	48
II. <i>tad-ardhinaḥ</i>	<i>prati-prasthata</i> 6	<i>brahmaṇacchamsi</i> 6	<i>maitravaruṇa</i> 6	<i>prastota</i> 6	24
III. <i>tṛtīyinaḥ</i>	<i>neṣṭa</i> 4	<i>agnīdhra</i> 4	<i>acchavak</i> 4	<i>pratiharta</i> 4	16
IV. <i>padīnaḥ</i>	<i>unneta</i> 3	<i>pota</i> 3	<i>grāvastut</i> 3	<i>subrahmaṇya</i> 3	12
Total (cows)	25	25	25	25	100

Mainly two methods of division were suggested by our ancient writers—

First method

A hundred cows being distributed among sixteen priests, the four chiefs or the first set, are entitled to half, i.e. 48 ; the next four or the second set, to half of that number i.e. 24 ; the third set, to a third part of it, i.e. 16 ; and the fourth set, to a quarter, i.e. 12. Further 12 to each *ṛtvik* of the first set, 6 to each of the second, 4 to each of the third and 3 to each of the last set will be allotted. Although one hundred cows are considered as a proper *dakṣiṇā* for a sacrifice, still to make the whole distribution commensurate with, 96 is the number chosen so that the first set takes 48 cows, and so on. This is one way of distribution as has been expounded in the text of the *Mitākṣara*.

Second method

According to another way of distribution the whole *dakṣiṇā* is divided into 25 shares and the several sets (4 sets) shall receive 12, 16, 4 and 3 shares each respectively. According to our example when we divide 100 cows in 25 shares, each share will consist of 4 cows. So the four sets shall receive 48 (12×4), 24 (6×4), 16 (4×4) and 12 (3×4) cows respectively. In this way it is clear that this mode of division only differs in the method of working out the figures but yields the same results as the first method.

From these two methods a simple mode of division can be suggested. First of all the whole *dakṣiṇā* of 100 cows should be divided equally into four parts, and each part, i.e. 25 cows should be allotted to each group. Now within the group this *dakṣiṇā* of 25 cows should be divided as 12, 6, 4 and 3 cows respectively among the four priests. We can very well understand all these methods of division by looking at the above table.

Following important conclusions can be drawn from this mode of division of *dakṣiṇā* among priests :—

(i) Each group is considered equally important in the performance of the sacrifice so each group is allotted the equal number of cows, i.e. 25.

(ii) But within the group each *ṛtvik* is not equally important, perhaps they differ in importance, status, qualification and work to be performed. They have been arranged in order of importance in our

above table. Because of this difference they receive different number of cows as *dakṣiṇā* as shown in the table.

(iii) As far as the four sets of *ṛtviks* are concerned they also differ in importance so they also receive the different number of cows as *dakṣiṇā*. But within the set every *ṛtvik* is equally important and each of them receives equal number of cows, i.e. 12.

(iv) It is clear that *dakṣiṇā* is divided among four sets or among four *ṛtviks* of a group in the ratio of 12 : 6 : 4 : 3.

It is just possible that all the required sixteen *ṛtviks* may not be engaged in a sacrifice due to non-availability or due to some other reason. In this situation *kuśa* (grass) is substituted for those non-available priests and rites are performed by the available priests only. Now the question arises, how will the *dakṣiṇā* be distributed among these available priests !

If all the priests in all the four sets are available then *dakṣiṇā* will be divided among these four sets in the standard ratio of 12 : 6 : 4 : 3. If the priests be engaged for the first and second sets only and the others be personated by *kuśa* (grass), the whole *dakṣiṇā* should be divided into three shares, of which two should be given to the first set and one to the second. Similarly with regard to other possible combinations of these sets the division of *dakṣiṇā* among these sets can be calculated on the basis of above-mentioned standard ratio. Possible different combinations of these four sets and the mode of the division of *dakṣiṇā* among these sets is shown in the following table :—

Division of shares of *dakṣiṇā* among four sets

Total shares	First set	Second set	Third set	Fourth set
25	12	6	4	3
3	2	1	—	—
4	3	—	1	—
5	4	—	—	1
5	—	3	2	—
3	—	2	—	1
7	—	—	4	3
11	6	3	2	—
19	12	—	4	3
7	4	2	—	1
13	—	6	4	3

By whom shall be the *dakṣiṇā* received, by one person or jointly by all ? On this point it is directed, on the authority of Manu (VIII.208), that the specific fee shall be received by him for whom it is ordained. Where it is not ordained it shall be shared among all the priests. With this the Chandogapariśiṣṭa disagrees, for it excludes the reader and the bystander directing the fees to be divided between the superintending priest and the person who presents the oblations²⁶.

We also find the detailed provisions regarding rights, responsibilities and expulsion of priests. In this regard Śaṅkha and Likhita are very elaborate and include all the provisions prescribed by other Smṛti writers. If an officiating priest dies, or absents himself, let the sacrificer afterwards engage another priest, the sacrificial fee belongs to the priest first engaged, or to his heir, but he who is afterwards called shall receive something. Should he absent himself giving notice of the probable time and of the cause of his absence, let the sacrificer wait till that time and not perform the ceremony with another priest. If he is hurried, he may cause that sacrifice to be finished by another and the absent priest, who is forsaken, shall receive some trifle as a token of respect. Should the officiating priest wilfully absent himself, though forbidden, while the ceremony is incomplete, he shall be fined a hundred *paṇas* or if he is a grievous offender, the family priest shall be amerced. To the priest engaged to officiate at solemn rites, but afterwards found to be afflicted with disease, degraded, insane, of ill fame or disabled by age, favour should be shown and other priests be appointed in his stead. If the officiating priest wilfully deserts the sacrificer, who is not a degraded person, nor otherwise disqualified, he shall incur an amercement of two hundred *paṇas* and so shall the sacrificer, who forsakes the officiating priest, though he is not degraded, nor otherwise incapable of acting. A man should readily forsake an ignorant or foolish priest, though he be not degraded ; and a priest may abandon a sacrificer who gives not due rewards, even though otherwise void of offence²⁷.

26. Col. Dig. I, III, 37.

27. Śaṅkha and Likhita, quoted in Col. Dig. I, III, 41 ; cf. Kauṭ. III. 14 ; Manu, viii. 206-207, 388 ; Yājñ. II. 265 ; Nār. III. 9-11 ; Bṛ. XIV. 15-16.

Partnership in husbandry

While most of the Smṛti writers and commentators have just given passing reference to partnership in husbandry, Bṛhaspati has dealt it in somewhat detail. According to Bṛ. (XIV. 21) every partner should equally provide cattle, workmen, seeds, and the like, as well as, implements of husbandry. He has also suggested that partners should be careful in selecting a proper piece of land for cultivation. According to him they should refrain anxiously from cultivating a common pasture ground, land adjacent to a town or to the king's highway, barren soil, and ground infested by mice. On the other hand they will enjoy produce if they sow fertile land, which has many holes and is wet, capable of irrigation, surrounded by fields on all sides, and cultivated in due season²⁸. While accepting the cattle from a partner as his share in the joint cultivation it must be remembered that lean, very old, tiny, diseased, apt to run away, blind of one eye, or lame cattle should not be admitted²⁹. Further regarding the liability of a partner he states, "when by the deficiency of one partner as to cattle or seeds a loss happens in the produce of the field, it must be made good by him to all the husbandmen"³⁰.

From these provisions it is implied that generally every partner should contribute equally the land, cattle, seed, agricultural implements and the like, and as well as the labour in the joint cultivation. In this situation every partner will receive equal share in the agricultural production. But if their contributions (or shares) differ with regard to land, labour, cattle etc., they will receive their shares in the produce according to their shares of input. So here also in the distribution of profit, i.e. agricultural produce, the same rule will apply as in the partnership in trade. Śukracārya has clearly stated that in the case of trade and agriculture as an equal, smaller, or larger share has been contributed by a partner, in the same proportion he shall defray charges, perform labour and obtain profit³¹. Share-cropping cultivators or cultivators for gain come under the title of *sambhūyasamutthana* which we have already discussed.

28. Bṛ. XIV. 22-23.

29. Bṛ. XIV. 24.

30. Bṛ. XIV. 25.

31. Col. Dig. I, III, 51 ; Yājñ. II 265 ; Śukra IV. 825-826 ; cf. Kauṣ. III. 14 (Gairola).

Partnership in arts

In the field of arts many persons may come together to work jointly. It is called 'partnership in arts.' The principles governing partnership in arts differed from those governing trade, in as much as here the skill and technical knowledge which each brought to the work was the fundamental factor and not the capital contributed by each³². While defining the artist Br. (XIV. 27) says, 'one able to work up gold, silver, thread, wood, stone, or leather, and acquainted with the articles to be manufactured with such materials, is called *śilpin* (an artisan or artist) by the wise." When goldsmiths or other artists practise their art jointly, they shall share the profit in due proportion corresponding to the nature of their work³³. It is also provided for, when many artisans work jointly, apprentices to get one share more, experienced scholars two shares, good artists three shares, and teachers four shares (if the total remuneration is divided into ten shares)³⁴. We find the meaning of these various types of artists in Colebrooke's Digest. He who, under the directions of another, anyhow executes work with occasional mistakes, is an apprentice if he is subordinate to another. He who previously instructed but, for want of practice in the particular exertion of manual labour, being incapable of fine work, executes business slowly, is called "a more experienced scholar". He who is capable of executing work, and is practised in the application of manual labour, but sometimes has occasion to ask instructions, is called a good, a skilful, or an able artist. The teacher is he who instructs or directs others, and can accomplish the work with certainty. In this book we also find a very interesting exercise with regard to the division of profit involving different combinations of these various types of artists. If there is an apprentice and teacher only, and no experienced scholar or good artist, what is the rule in that case? who does execute the work of the experienced scholar and good artist? If the apprentice does it, he is an artist; therefore the teacher should receive four shares, and the artist three shares of the remuneration divided into seven shares. If the work of the

32. Maganlal Buch, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

33. Br. XIV. 28; Śukra IV. 818-819.

34. शिक्षकाभिज्ञकुशला आचार्याश्चेति शिल्पिनः ।

एकद्वित्रिचतुर्भागान् लभेयुस्ते यथोत्तरम् ॥

—Br. 1.13.35 (Aiyangar); Kāt. 632.

experienced scholar and good artist is executed by the teacher, he shall receive nine shares, and the pupil, one share only. If the apprentice executes the work of an experienced scholar, and the teacher performs the work of a good artist, the apprentice shall receive three shares and the teacher seven shares of the remuneration divided into ten shares³⁵. From the sources of the Jātakas (Jāt. vol. II, No. 231 : *Upāhana* Jāt., and Jāt. vol. II, No. 243 : *Guttīla* Jāt.) also we come to know that the remuneration of the master (elephant trainer) should be double to that of his pupil.

It is also prescribed that in a joint construction of a house or temple, or digging of a pool, or making of articles of leather, the head of the artisans is entitled to get double the share got by each³⁶. It can be explained with the help of an example. Suppose four persons jointly take the contract to build a house. If they receive Rs. 100/- as the total remuneration for their work, according to the above rule the principal mason (or headman) will get two shares and remaining three labourers one share each if the total remuneration is divided into five shares. In this way principal mason will receive Rs. 40/- and each of the three labourers shall receive Rs. 20/-.

Similar provisions have been made regarding dancers, singers and musicians also. In a musical party, the singers should take equal shares, while the principals (in the troupe of dancers or musicians) are entitled to two shares each ; the *talajña* or one who beats the time gets half share according to Katyāyana and Śukrācārya, and one and a half according to Br.³⁷.

It is clear from the above analysis that in the case of partnership in arts, remuneration or profit is divided among different partners on the basis of their skill, technical knowledge and importance (or utility) of their work. It corresponds to the wage theory of profit.

Partnership in plunder

It is an interesting and special form of partnership, i.e. partnership of recognised or authorised robbers. When anything is brought by a pillaging party from a hostile country with the permission of

35. Col. Dig. I, III. 53,

36. Br. XIV. 29 ; Śukra IV. 820.

37. Br. XIV. 30, Kāt. 636 ; Śukra. IV. 821.

the king, they should give, according to Br. and Śukrācārya, a sixth part to the king and according to Kātyāyana a tenth part and share the remainder in due proportion. While explaining this due proportion they further prescribed that the chief (of robbers) should get four shares, the most valiant of them three shares, the most active or capable two, and the remaining associates shall share alike. Now, as we have seen, here is difference of opinion with regard to king's share in the booty. On this problem Smṛticandrikā explains that Brhaspati's verse applies to a very powerful enemy, while Kātyāyana refers to a weaker one. Caṇḍeśvara says, a tenth part or sixth part should be understood according to the proximity or distance of the foreign country. But Misra holds otherwise. If the king protects the robbers he shall receive a sixth part being very distant. If he does not take measures to protect them he shall have a tenth part only. Others hold that a sixth part shall in general be received, for taxes have been ordained at the same rate. If the expenses and toil of the robbers are great in consequence of their going to a very distant country, the king shall only receive a tenth part³⁸. Further on the joint liability and responsibility it is provided if any one is caught all should contribute money according to their share for the ransom³⁹.

According to Kātyāyana this rule should be applied to traders, husbandmen, thieves and artisans also, when they engage in a joint undertaking without defining their shares. In these cases also the chief is entitled to a double share. If the labour is of three, four, or more kinds, one additional share is allowed for each degree of superior labour. It implies that in all such cases division of shares depends on the quality (superiority or inferiority) of labour⁴⁰.

Much before these Smṛti writers, Kauṭilya (III. 14) giving a general rule said, "guilds of workmen as well as those who carry on any co-operative work or joint business shall divide their earnings either equally or as agreed upon among themselves." From this general rule two implications are very clear : (i) if their shares of capital in the joint stock of trading company or their share of labour (quantitatively and qualitatively) in the workmen's guild (or partner-

38. Br. XIV. 31-32; Kāt. 633-634; Śukra. IV. 822.

39. Kāt. 635; Śukra IV. 823.

40. Kāt. 637; Col. Dig. I, III. 61.

ship based on work) is equal, every partner will receive equal share in the profit or remuneration of the company. (ii) When partners have not contributed equally, they shall receive their shares in the profit in proportion to their contributions (either in the form of labour or in the form of capital, as the case may be). It is also possible that there may be some agreement among the partners with regard to the division of profit. In this situation profit will be divided according to the agreement.

We find a very interesting, practical and unique provision in Br. with regard to the distribution of income or profit of a company. According to Br. the profits of the company should be divided as follows :—

(i) A portion of profit should be allotted for charitable purposes. It should be spent on the idiotic, the aged, the blind, women, children, diseased persons, persons having issues (but not in a position to maintain them), or other deserving persons⁴¹. Likewise there should be provision for the construction of a house, of assembly ; for shed for accommodating travellers with water, for a temple, a pool, or garden ; for relief to hopeless or poor people, for the performance of sacrificial acts, for a common path, or for defence.

(ii) A portion of profit should be kept in a reserve fund as undistributed profit for the further investment in the business of the company.

(iii) Rest of the profit should be given to the share-holders (or partners) according to their shares either monthly or half yearly.

The Smṛti rules find positive illustrations from life. "Four Benaras weavers piled their trade jointly and used to divide their

41. देयं वा निःस्ववृद्धान्धस्त्रीबालातुररोगिषु ।

सान्त्वानिकादिषु तथा धर्म एष सनातनः ॥

—Br. (Aiyangar). 1.17.24.

यत्नैः प्राप्तं रक्षितं वा गणार्थं वा पणं कृतम् ।

—Br. (Aiyangar). 1.17.25.

ततो लभेत यत्किञ्चित्सर्वेषामेव तत्समम् ।

षाण्मासिकं मासिकं वा विभक्तव्यं यथांशतः ॥

—Br. (Aiyangar). 1.17.23.

See also Br. XVII. 11-12 (SBE, vol. XXXIII, pt. I).

earnings in five shares keeping four on their own and disposing of the fifth on charity (Jāt. vol. IV.). We find so many references in inscriptions where guilds of merchants or other guilds made liberal donations"⁴². In cases where a profit accrued without the actual sale or purchase of goods of a partnership, the gain was considered as a by-product of the partnership and was put down separately and set apart as common property to be utilised for charity. "We have a Jātaka (Jāt. vol. II, p. 296) which refers to some traders of Sāvattthi who carried a joint business in rich finds of minerals of all sorts. They put their wealth in a common treasure-house and financed the food supply to the Buddhist brotherhood out of the profit of these finds"⁴³.

Determination of profit

Profit is the main motive force for the entrepreneurial activities in the economy. That is why it is said that profit is the reward of the entrepreneur for his work. That trader was attributed as *vasnika* by Pāṇini (5.1.51). who returns back to his home after earning profit by selling his commodities in some other country. From the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali we can very well understand the meaning of profit. He has made distinction between two words: *mūla*=cost of production and *mūlya*=price of a commodity. *Mūla* is the cost of production or the expenses incurred in the preparation of commodity for sale. When trader's profit is added to this *mūla* or cost of production it becomes the *mūlya* or price of that commodity (4.4.91). Thus this relation between *mūla* and *mūlya* can be expressed in the following equations :—

- (i) $mūla \text{ (Cost)} + \text{Profit} = mūlya \text{ (Price)}$
- (ii) $\text{Price} - \text{Cost} = \text{Profit}$
- (iii) $\text{Price} - \text{Profit} = \text{Cost.}$

So, according to Patañjali (5.1.47, 48, 49) whatever is received over and above the cost of production is called 'profit'. It seems that commodities are named on the basis of the profit received on

42. Atindra Nath Bose, *Early industrial organisation in north India* IHQ., vol. XX, June, 1944; Jaishankara Mishra; *op. cit.* pp. 619-20; Mookerji, Radhakumud: *Local Government in ancient India*, Oxford, 1920, pp. 88-94.

43. Balram Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

them. For example, that commodity was termed *pañcaka* on which profit was five (either in absolute figure or in percentage). Like this we find *saptaka*, *aṣṭaka*, *navaka*, *daśaka*, *bhāgika*, *ardhika* etc.⁴⁴. Hemchandra's definition of profit is also similar to Patañjali. He says that expenses incurred in the manufacture of cloth etc. are called *mūlya* or cost of production and whatever is received over and above this is profit⁴⁵.

There are clear references in the ṚV. (1.56.2) to trading in distant lands for profit. The prayers and oblations offered for gaining a hundred treasures (ṚV. III. 18.3) are also probably those of merchants seeking divine aid for success in trade⁴⁶. We find the word *prahā* in the Vedic literature (ṚV. X. 42.9. ; AV. IV. 38.3 ; Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XVI. 4.2 ; XX. 11.4) which denotes generally any gain or advantage⁴⁷. In the age of Upaniṣadas and Sūtras we find a rite called *paṇyasiddhi* (ensuring success in trade) in which a portion of the particular article of trade is cut off and sacrificed in the fire with the prayer : "If we carry on trade to acquire (new) wealth by means of our (old) wealth may Soma—prosper that" (Hiraṇyakeśin GrS. I. 15.1)⁴⁸.

In the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the Mahābhārata we find guidelines for a trader. It is said that a businessman should do his business after fully considering the place and time, price of the commodity, expenses, profit and efforts etc.⁴⁹.

Yuan Chuang, describing the four *varṇas*, says that the third order was "class of traders" (*vaiśya*) who "bartered commodities and pursued gain far and near"⁵⁰.

44. P.D. Agnihotri, *Patañjali kālīna Bhārata*, Patna, 1963, p. 334.

45. ... मूल्यातिरिक्तं प्राप्तं द्रव्यं लाभः —*Śabdanuśāsana*,
quoted in Jaishankar Mishra, *op. cit.*, pp. 587, 591.

46. R. C. Majumdar, *The History and culture of the Indian people*, vol. I, Bombay, 1971, p. 399.

47. McDonnell and Keith, *Vedic index*, vol. II, p. 44.

48. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

49. वाणिज्यं वा यथाकालं कुर्यात् तद्देशयोगतः ।

मूल्यमर्थं प्रयासं च विचार्यैव फलोदयी ॥

—MBh., 13. App. 15.1416 Pr.

50. Watters, I, p. 168.

Profit in state regulated trading

It seems that state played an important role in the determination of profit in ancient India. On the one hand it guaranteed reasonable profits to entrepreneurs, while on the other it put a rational curb against cheating and speculative tendencies in the general interest of the society. The problem of profit determination was interwoven with that of price fixation⁵¹. King used to fix the rates for the purchase and sale of all marketable goods, having duly considered whence they come, whither they go, how long they have been kept, the probable profit and the probable outlay⁵². So in the opinion of Yājñ., the sale or purchase should be conducted at the price which is fixed by the king and the surplus over the rate as regulated by the king is the only legal profit of the traders and not one made from rates determined at their own fancy⁵³. It is interesting to note that Kauṭ. and Yājñ. both have prescribed identical rates of profit. They suggested five percent profit on local commodities (or indigenous commodities) and ten percent on foreign commodities. But here Yājñ. made one point very clear that this rate of profit is applicable only for the short period, i.e. when buying and selling is done on the same day. It implies that in the long run when there is a gap in the time of purchase and sale, a greater profit is allowed⁵⁴. According to Kauṭ. (IV. 2) that trader should be fined who charged more profit than prescribed. Now the question arises why there was a difference in the rates of profit on local and foreign commodities. As we know, in those days the foreign trade was more risky than the indigenous trade. Element of greater risk and uncertainty was involved in foreign trade due to difficulty in transport, fear of robbers and thieves on the way and so on. The greater profit was allowed to compensate this risk, supporting thereby the risk theory of profit.

In the fixation of price what factors should be taken into account has also been mentioned. Specially in the case of foreign

51. Shyamsundar Nigam, *Economic organisation in ancient India*, Delhi, 1975, p. 193.

52. Manu. VIII. 401 ; see also Kauṭ. II. 16 ; IV. 2.

53. Yājñ., II. 251 and Mit. on Yājñ., II. 251.

54. Kauṭ. IV. 2 and

स्वदेशपण्ये तु शतं वणिगृहीत पञ्चकम् ।

दशकं पारदेश्ये तु यः सद्यः क्रयविक्रयी ॥

—Yājñ., II. 252.

goods following factors are note worthy : (i) cost of production ; (ii) the quantity manufactured ; (iii) interest ; (iv) hire and freight charges or transportation cost ; (v) custom and other dues ; (vi) other accessory charges⁵⁵. By adding all these items we come to know the aggregate cost of production. The prescribed rate of profit will be added to this and it will be the sale price of a commodity in the market. According to Kauṭ. (II.16) it is useless to deal with the foreign trade without the prospects of profit. With regard to state-trading in foreign countries he says, "Having ascertained the value of local produce as compared with that of foreign produce that can be obtained in barter, the superintendent of commerce will find out by calculation whether there is any margin left for profit after meeting the payments to foreign king, such as the toll, road-cess, conveyance-cess, tax payable at military-stations, ferry charges, subsistence to the merchant and his servants, and the portion of merchandise to the foreign king. If no profit can be realised by selling the local produce in foreign countries, he has to consider whether any local produce can be profitably bartered for any foreign produce". It is interesting to note that Kauṭ. has suggested some underhand methods also to earn large profits in foreign countries. He says, "in view of large profits the deputed merchant may make friendship with the forest-guards, boundary-guards, and officers incharge of cities and of country-parts of the foreign country." This prescription have two implied meanings : (i) merchant should do friendship with these persons so that they may not create unnecessary hardships or difficulties in the way of merchant's business ; (ii) friendship may be exploited to get extra or out of the way concessions from these officers to earn large profits. Before dealing with a particular foreign country he must make number of enquiries. He (i.e. the merchant) must gather information as to conveyance charges, subsistence on the way, value of foreign merchandise that can be obtained in barter for local merchandise, journey time and the history of commercial towns. Having gathered information as to the transactions in commercial towns along the bank of rivers, he shall transport his merchandise to profitable markets and avoid unprofitable ones. Thus it can be concluded that the profit prescribed by Kauṭ. and Yājñ. was in the nature of normal profit, which seems very reasonable. In the time of Katyāyana, generally, seller's profit was

55. Kauṭ. IV. 2 ; Manu. VIII. 401 ; Mit. on Yājñ. II, 253.

twenty percent ($1/5$ th of the value of the commodity). In this regard Śukra. (IV. 831) provides, "A merchant should fix $1/32$ nd (i.e. $3\frac{1}{8}\%$) or $1/16$ th (i.e. $6\frac{1}{4}\%$) part as the profit in a business with due regard to the expenditure and to the conditions of place and not more." From this fact we can infer some important points : (i) Śukra has suggested two rates of profit, it seems $3\frac{1}{8}\%$ profit might be for the wholesale dealers and $6\frac{1}{4}\%$ for the retailers which is almost equal to the Kauṭ's. rate of 5%. Or it can be interpreted in another way, a merchant should fix $1/32$ nd or $1/16$ th part as the profit in a business according to the place of the business. It means he must charge only $1/32$ nd part as the profit at the place of the production of the commodities and at other places which are far away from the production centre he may charge $1/16$ th part as the profit. Or in the competitive market he should sell his commodities only on the $3\frac{1}{8}\%$ profit while in the non-competitive market he can charge $6\frac{1}{4}\%$ profit. (ii) Profit should be fixed with due regard to the expenditure, i.e. total cost of production should be calculated before fixing the price of the commodity so that the required profit can be earned. It implies if somebody fixes the prices without knowing fully the cost of production then there is every possibility that either he may charge heavy profits or he would incur losses. That is why Kauṭ, Manu and Yājñ. suggested to calculate the cost of production carefully before fixing the price.

We also find that in ancient India there was a provision for the revision of prices from time to time according to the market conditions⁵⁶. Whenever there is a change in the cost of production it is essential to revise the rates of prices so that the trader may get his prescribed profit. The ancient writers were very clear that while fixing prices the interest of both the consumers and producers should be kept in mind. That is why Yājñ. (II. 253) suggested that the king should fix that price which is profitable both to the buyers and sellers. The price should not be less than the cost of production but it should be somewhat higher than the aggregate cost of production so that the producer may get his due profit. On the other hand it should not be so high that the consumers may feel overburdened or they may find it difficult to purchase the commodity. It should be within their reach. Therefore, Kauṭ. (II. 16) suggested

56. Manu. VIII. 402.

that merchants should avoid such large profits as will harm the people.

Profits in free trading

Till now we have discussed the determination of profit either with regard to state trading or trading completely regulated by the state. Now we shall try to discuss the problem of profit in ancient India with regard to free trading, or trading free from strict government control. As we know that the main function of an entrepreneur consists of risk taking and uncertainty bearing, the changing world offers limitless opportunities to the farsighted, daring and clever entrepreneurs to make profits by turning the facts of the situation in their favour⁵⁷. We find the number of instances in Buddhist literature specially in Jātakas with regard to making huge profits by the free entrepreneurs on the basis of their risk taking, cleverness and entrepreneurial skill. The daring youth of the *Cullakasetṭhi Jāt.* (vol. I. No. 4) who bought the whole of the ship's cargo and sold it off to different merchants of the city might be regarded as a typical entrepreneur. This young man of good family, but penniless, started on his career by selling a dead mouse for cat's meat at a farm, turned his capital and hands to every variety of job and finally bought up a ship's cargo which he held and disposed for 200,000 pieces, getting bumper profit. Here in this case we find the example of monopoly and supernormal profits also when that young man was the only seller of grass and so he earned abnormal profits by selling his grass to the horse-dealer. In the same way in the business of ship's cargo also he enjoyed monopoly profits. Generally we find 100, 200 and 400 percent were the profits at which caravan masters bartered their wares (Jāt. I. 1, 2 ; IV. 2 etc.). We also find a story where 20,000 percent profit was earned and only 1000 *kārṣapaṇas* were spent on transportation and bribing etc. Court valuers also used to take bribe (Jāt. I. 124 ; *Therīgatha* 25. 212). A boy begins with a humble stock-in-trade, voyages to *Suvarṇabhūmi* with some other merchants in a ship and makes enough money to recover his paternal kingdom (Jāt. VI. 34). Thus it is clear that in the times of Jātakas some entrepreneurs were earning huge profits by charging arbitrary prices. And in the process of earning such a large profit they were not hesitating even to adopt underhand, illegal or immoral methods including bribing.

57. B.S. Mudgal, *Political economy in ancient India*, p. 155.

The application, judgement, cleverness and connexion of the successful shopkeeper (*apaṇika*) are interestingly discussed (Āṅguttaranikāya I. 116 f. ; cf. Majjhimanikāya II. 7 ; Vinaya. I. 255). He is shrewd, knows about his goods : this article bought for so much and sold for so much ; will bring in so much money and such and such profit. He is clever, excels in buying and selling goods. He inspires confidence in as much as wealthy people seeing his stability give him credit. Possessed of these three characteristics a shopkeeper in no time attains greatness and increase of wealth⁵⁸. Even in Śūkra's time it appears to have been a common practice for merchants to indulge in profiteering (Śūkra IV. 46-48). They sold their things when prices were high and kept them in reserve when prices were low. It appears that these merchants used to buy things when cheap and sell them at much higher rates when short in supply⁵⁹.

Wage theory of profit

Manu's idea (Manu VII. 127) that profit should be determined with reference to *yogakṣema*, i.e. trouble and labour involved in producing things as well as preserving them, corresponds to the wage theory of profit. According to which profit is the wage of the entrepreneur accruing to him on account of his special ability. The idea is further reflected in the Mahābhārata (*Śanti*. LXXX. 16)⁶⁰. As we have already seen that in *Kūṭavāṇija* Jāt. the wisest demanded greater share in the profit on the basis of his greater skill. We also find the provision of special share to a partner in taking the trouble of saving the property from any danger. The method of the distribution of *dakṣiṇā* among priests also indicates that different priests receive their shares of *dakṣiṇā* according to their qualifications and work. Partnership in art and partnership in plunder are the finest examples of the wage theory of profit. It is suggested that in the work of arts every person receives his share purely on the basis of technical knowledge, skill and importance of his work. Head of the workman or chief workman was allowed to get the double share. Thus they recognised the supervising or managerial work of the entrepreneur for which he received his remuneration in the form of extra share in the profit. In the same

58. Atindra Nath Bose, *Social and rural economy in northern India*, vol. II. 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1967, p. 9.

59. Puspa Niyogi, *Contributions to the economic history of northern India*, p. 163.

60. Vaidyanatha Ayyar, *Manu's land and trade laws*, p. 90.

way teacher or supervisor in the work of arts was allowed to receive the highest share in the profit. In the case of the robber's participation it is more than clear that different types of robbers receive their share on the basis of their expertise and active participation in the plunder. One view which was widely prevalent in ancient India was that entrepreneur is also a special kind of labourer. As the labourer gets his wages for his labour so the entrepreneur will also receive his remuneration in the form of profit.

Risk and uncertainty-bearing theory of profit

One who bears the uncertainty and faces the risks will get profit. Even in the partnership business one who took the risk in saving the property from robbers or any other kind of danger would receive more profit and in the case of partnership in plunder we find a positive correlation between risk taking and share in the profit. Nobody will be prepared to take the risk without the prospects of extraearning. The greater the risk the greater the possibility of extraearning or profit. That is why we see in Jatakas and other ancient Indian literature that forest traders and sea traders received huge profit in their business dealings in comparison with local traders. Nowadays risks with regard to accident, death, fire, robbing, stealing etc. are termed 'known risks' or 'insurable risks'. Because such type of risks can be insured these cannot become the basis of profit according to modern economists. But in ancient India there was no good provision for insurance and safeguard with regard to such type of risks. The main function of the entrepreneur in those days was to go ahead for trade against all these risks and because of this enterprise he was to receive profits. In this connection Kālidāsa's description of a group of merchants going from Vidarbha to Vidiśā in *Malavikāgnimitram* (*aṅka* V.) deserves mention. "After the day's journey the group of merchants encamped in the forest. Suddenly it was attacked by a gang of robbers, and there was a hard fight with the caravan guards who were ultimately defeated; all wares were taken away by the robbers". The merchants courted miseries and misfortunes during the course of their caravan journey not out of any spirit of blind adventure, but out of love for profit. It was quite natural for them to barter their merchandise for three or four times the original price. A Chinese passage states that the inhabitants of Parthia and India had trade with China by sea, and earned hundredfold profit⁶¹.

61. S.K. Maity, *Economic life of northern India in the Gupta period*, p. 123.

ĀŚRAYA AND ĀLAMBANA OF STHĀYIBHĀVA

M. V. RAMANA

By common usage we regard *rasa* to be present in *Kāvya*. But it is only the *sthāyibhāvas* that constitute the principal theme of a *Kāvya*, while *rasa* is the experience of the *sahṛdaya*, when these *sthāyibhāvas* are aesthetically excited by other *bhāvas* and become relishable.

*vibhāvanubhāvavyabhicāriparivṛtaḥ sthāyibhāvo rasanāma labhate*¹.

Thus the term *rasa*, as far as the framework of *Kāvya* is concerned, is to be understood, as referring to the *sthāyibhāvas* only.

*rasaśabdenātra tatsthāyibhāvaḥ upalakṣyate*².

The *rasasūtra* given by Bharata, *vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicāri-samyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ* has come to be regarded as the general guiding principle that governs the interrelations of the different parts of a work explaining the unity of *rasa*. Paraphrasing this *sūtra* in simple terms, it runs thus : '*rasa* is the outcome of the commixture of *vibhāvas*, the *anubhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas*'.

Bharata altogether gives forty-nine *bhāvas* : eight *sthāyibhāvas*, eight *sāttvikabhāvas* and thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas*. Though all these come under the head *bhāva*, it is only the *sthāyibhāva* that is capable of being excited and aesthetically elevated to the status of *rasa*. All the other *bhāvas* render this permanent state relishable. *sthāyibhāva* is, therefore, the central nucleus to which all other aesthetic ingredients are connected in one form or the other. As such the question of the omission of this term in the *rasasūtra* naturally arises. This is because of the fact that the *sthāyibhāvas* in a *Kāvya* are always left to be relished as *rasas* through the poetic function of suggestion, but are never expressed. The term *sthāyin* is because of the fact that it continues upto the end of the *Kāvya*—

*tatra aprabandham sthīratvādamīṣam bhavānam sthāyitvam*³.

1. Nāṭyaśāstra (G.O.S. ed., 1956), vol. I, ch. VII, p. 349.

2. The Commentary *Saṅketa on Kāvyaaprakāśa*, Oriental Library Pub., Mysore, 1922, ch. VII, p. 284.

3. *Rasagaṅgādhara* (R.G.), Vidyābhavana Samskṛta Granthamālā, 11 Benares, 1970 p. 137. Also cf. *Rasatarāṅginī* :

caramasamayaparyantasthāyitvādasya sthāyitvavyapadeśaḥ.

The *sthāyibhāva*, thus, reaches the stage of relishability in the minds of the *sahyodayas* when it is worked out to the realisation through the help of a *Kāvya*. To achieve this end, the poet, drawn by the appeal of particuler *rasas*, depicts them as existing in given characters and getting developed into a climax. So in the *Kāvya* the substratum of the *sthāyibhāva* of a particular *rasa* is known as *āśraya*.

The question of the locus of the *sthāyibhāva* did not receive much attention of the scholars and controversies regarding the exact nature of locus (*āśraya*) remained unsolved. Generally *āśraya* is considered either as one of the *vibhāvas* or as a kind of *alambanavibhāva*.

Again, *āśraya* is the subject of the *sthāyibhāva*, while *alambana-vibhāva* represents the object of the *sthāyibhāva*. For instance, if the poet's intent is of *vīra rasa*, then he naturally fixes the *nāyaka*, preferably a *dhīrodatta* as the locus, i.e. *āśraya*, for developing the *sthāyibhāva*, i.e. *utsaha*. But the business of the poet does not end with this. The mere description of *nāyaka* will be of no use, for, it can not by itself produce the aesthetic effect, *vīra rasa*. Therefore, there should be some other object, the counterpart—the *viśaya*, to the emotion depicted in the *nāyaka*. Then the external stimuli, the *vibhāvas* are called forth and at this juncture, the *alambanavibhāva* finds its scope.

Among the literary theorists, Siṅgabhūpāla and Jagannātha clearly take notice of this two-fold distinction of *āśraya* and *viśaya*. Though there is no uniform treatment of the subject among these writers, they tried to investigate the exact nature of these phenomena in their own way. Siṅgabhūpāla calls *vibhāvas* as the causes for the knowledge of *rasa* (*rasajñāpanakāraṇa*). Following the usual method, he distinguishes *vibhāvas* into *alambana-* and *uddīpanavibhāvas*. He goes a step further and analyses *alambanavibhāva* as being either subjective or objective under the heads—*ādhāra* and *viśaya*⁴. *Ādhāra* constitutes the substratum while *viśaya* forms the object of the *sthāyibhāva*.

4. *tatra jñeyo vibhāvastu rasajñāpanakāraṇam,
budhair jñeyo'yamālamba uddīpana iti dvidha,
ādhāra viśaya tvābhyām nāyako nāyikāpi ca,
alambanam matam ...*

—*Rasārṇavasudhākara* I. 59-60.

Jagannātha admits of the two-fold distinction of *ālambana-* and *uddīpanavibhāvas* as the causes of the *sthāyibhāvas*. But he does not explicitly state the term *āśraya*. However, the usage of the term *nāyaka* can be understood as referring only to the *āśraya* or the substratum of the respective *sthāyibhāvas*. This is made clear from the following statement of Jagannātha himself :

*eṣam sthāyibhāvanām loke tattannāyakagatānam*⁵...

Here the term *nāyaka* used by Jagannātha clearly refers to the *āśraya* of the *sthāyibhāva* :

*nāyakapadaṁ tattatsthāyibhāvāśrayaparam*⁶.

Furthermore, the point raised by Jagannātha, regarding *āśraya* in the case of *hāsa* and *jugupsā*, and the explanation thereof (vide infra) clearly testify to the fact that he had in mind this two-fold distinction of *āśraya* and *viśaya* of the *sthāyibhāva*. With this background only Jagannātha explicitly defines *ālambanavibhāva* as :

*yasyāścittavṛtteryo viśayaḥ sa tasya ālambanam*⁷.

Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his *Sāhityakaumudī* seems to have given the two-fold division of *ālambana* into *viśaya* and *āśraya*⁸. H. R. Misra discusses in detail these subtle distinctions keeping in view the approaches of the earlier writers⁹. However, he treats *āśraya* as a kind of *vibhāva*.

Against this background, it remains to be considered what exactly is the position of *āśraya* in the entire aesthetic process, i.e. whether *āśraya* should be treated together with *viśaya* under one head of *ālambanavibhāva* or they should be treated as *āśrayavibhāva* and *ālambanavibhāva* separately. On a closer look, it does not seem proper to consider *āśraya* either as a type of *vibhāva* in general or as *ālambanavibhāva* in particular.

5. RG., p. 146.

6. *Candrikā* comm. on RG., Idem.

7. Op. cit., p. 149.

8. *Sāhityakaumudī*, p. 29.

Quoted by H. R. Misra, *Theory of rasa in Sanskrit drama*, Chhatarpur, 1964, p. 428.

9. Idem ; and also pp. 448-52.

Āśraya is thus neither *āmbanavibhava* nor even simply a *vibhava*. This is because, *nāyaka*, i.e. *āśraya*, means the locus of the *sthāyibhava* and hence can never become part of the stimuli. All the other factors including *āmbanavibhava* operate only as the means to manifest the *sthāyibhava* seated in the *āśraya*, i.e. *nāyaka*. The *sthāyibhava*, thus immediately seeks the help of a character, who is the recipient for its reposal. Then only the *vibhavas* headed by *āmbanavibhava* operate. Therefore, *āśraya* stands midway between the *sthāyibhava* and the causal apparatus and hence should be kept apart from the set of other ingredients. From the different terms adopted by the theorists, it can be said that the terms *āśraya* and *adhara* are synonyms and they denote the locus of the *sthāyibhava*, while the terms *āmbana* and *viśaya* indicate the object of the *sthāyibhava* existing in the *āśraya*.

In the case of *vīra rasa*, the *nāyaka* is *āśraya* for the *sthāyibhava*, i.e. *utsāha*, while the *pratināyaka* is the *āmbanavibhava*. (*nāyakaniṣṭha-pratināyakaviśayaka-utsāha*). Thus in the works, which abound in *vīra rasa*, *pratināyaka* stands on equal footing with *nāyaka*, because it is possible to exemplify the glory of *nāyaka* with the help of *pratināyaka*, and consequently the aesthetic effect, *vīra rasa*, is produced. When *śṛṅgāra* is the delineated sentiment, *nāyaka* and *nāyika* mutually take charge of this role, i.e. one serving as *āśraya* and the other as the *āmbanavibhava* to handle the *sthāyibhava*, *rati* (*nāyikaniṣṭha-nāyakaviśayaka-rati* and *nāyakaniṣṭha-nāyikaviśayaka-rati*). Similarly, for other *rasas* also, the *āśraya* and the *āmbanavibhava* of the *sthāyibhava* are to be scrupulously distinguished¹⁰.

10 *Hasya*: *hasa* is the *sthāyibhava*. The person who experiences comicality, i.e. the character if depicted in the work, or an imaginary character, is to be understood as *āśraya* and the object of ridicule is the *āmbanavibhava*.

Karuṇa: *śoka* is the *sthāyibhava*. The person who suffers is *āśraya* and the death of the kinsmen, lost object or calamity and the like are the *āmbanavibhavas*.

Raudra: *krodha* is the *sthāyibhava*. The person who experiences the furious sentiment becomes *āśraya* and haughty people like *rākṣasas*, *dānavas* and the like are the *āmbanavibhavas*.

Bhayanaka: *bhaya* is the *sthāyibhava*. The person in whom the terrible feeling is depicted is *āśraya* and the object that frightens, for instance, the jackal, the fox, the horrific place—, is the *āmbanavibhava*.

At this juncture, the question raised by Jagannātha regarding *āśraya* in the case of *hasa* and *jugupsā*, should be drawn attention to. His main contention is : in cases of *rati*, *krodha*, *utsaha*, *bhaya*, *śoka*, *vismaya* and *nirveda* when fully delineated along with the constituents like *vibhavas*, the *āśraya* and the *ālambanavibhava* are separately cognized. But this is not the case with *hasa* and *jugupsā*, since in these two instances, it is only the *ālambanavibhava* that is cognized but not *āśraya*, which can be clearly distinguished in the case of the other *sthāyibhavas* :

*nanu ratikrodhotsahabhayaśokavismayanirvedeṣu, praguḍāhṛteṣu
yathālambanāśrayayoḥ sampratyaḥ, na tathā hāse jugupsāyām
ca. tatālambanasyaiva pratīteḥ*¹¹...

This, however, does not mean that *āśraya* is altogether absent in *hasa* and *jugupsā*. But occasionally it happens that the *ālambanavibhava* alone is found depicted explicitly but not *āśraya*. In such cases, who can be the *āśraya* is the question in point.

To this question, Jagannātha himself furnishes the solution in two different ways : i) One has to posit a witness or an observer of the situation and he should be considered as the *āśraya* of the *sthāyibhava*. Thus an imaginary character is to be understood as *āśraya* by implication :

...tadāśrayasya draṣṭṛpuruṣaviśeṣasya tatrākṣepyatvat...¹².

ii) Even if one does not posit such an imaginary character as the *āśraya*, the *sahṛdaya* can derive the aesthetic experience, as he would do when a verse describing his own beloved is read out to

Bibhatsa : *jugupsā* is the *sthāyibhava*: The person who feels loathsome—the character, if portrayed in the work, or else the supposed character—becomes *āśraya* and the ugly object, or scene is the *ālambanavibhava*.

Adbhuta : The *sthāyibhava* is *vismaya*. The person in whom wonder is depicted is *āśraya* and the object of wonder, the feats of the magicians and the like, represents the *ālambanavibhava*.

Śānta : Lastly, for *śānta rasa*, *nirveda* or *śama* is the *sthāyibhava*. The person who experiences tranquility is *āśraya* and the entire world itself provides the ground for the *ālambanavibhava*, because it is the real knowledge of the ways of the world that causes disgust;

11. RG., p. 186.

12. Idem.

him, i.e. the *sahṛdaya* imagines himself as a character who will be the *āśraya* of the *sthāyibhāva* and then experiences *rasa* by getting himself identified with that character :

*tadanakṣepe tu śrotuḥ svīyakāntāvarṇanapadyadīva rasodbodhe
bādhakabhavar*¹³...

In either of these cases, it is only the character, whether purely imaginary (as in the former case) or the alter ego of the *sahṛdaya* (as seen in the latter), that becomes the *āśraya* of the *sthāyibhāva* and with this *āśraya* the *sahṛdaya* identifies himself and experiences *rasa*.

This view gains support in the following lines of Viśvanātha. He says that in case of *hāsyā* and the like, where the subject (*āśraya*) is not actually presented, the complete realisation of *rasa* (by the *sahṛdaya*) is not possible unless one supposes a 'Hero' through the force of other aesthetic ingredients like *vibhāvas* etc. :

*yasya haśaḥ sa cet kvāpi sakṣannaiva nibadhyate,
tathāpyeṣa vibhāvadi sāmartyādupalabhyate.
abhedena vibhāvaḍisādharaṇyāt pratiyate,
sāmājikaistato hāsyaraso'yamanubhūyate*¹⁴.

This kind of interpretation holds good not only in the case of *hāsyā* and *bībhatsā*, but other *rasas* can also be understood in this light wherever the *āśraya* is not directly exhibited (*evamanyeṣvapi raseṣu boddhavyam*—*Sāhityadarpaṇa*), because *āśraya* is a psychological necessity. As such the *sahṛdaya* himself cannot directly become the *āśraya* of the *sthāyibhāva*, for, he is the *āśraya* for *alauktika rasa* and hence cannot be the *āśraya* for *laukika rasa*. Therefore, in

13. Ibid. p. 187.

14. *Sahityadarpaṇa* III, 220-221. cf. Pramada Dasa Mitra's tr. of these verses :—

"And even if the person to whom, as its subject, belongs the sentiment of laughter is not directly exhibited anywhere, still he is discerned through the force of the excitants, &c. which cannot indeed be realized in their completeness, unless we suppose a HERO, under the influence of the sentiment, exhibiting his sense of the ludicrous by external marks, in Poetry called *Ensuaṇts*..."

The Mirror of Composition, Banaras, 1956, p. 123.

such cases it is necessary to admit of an intermediary character by implication as the *āśraya* of the *sthāyibhāva* in order to complete the entire aesthetic process.

Though Jagannātha keeps silent in the explicit mention of *āśraya*, it becomes evident from the above discussion that he recognises the distinction of *āśraya* and *ālambanavibhāva* of the various *sthāyibhāvas*. This kind of distinction is clearly given by the literary theorists only with reference to the *śṛṅgāra rasa*. But all the other *rasas* do admit of such division, since the *sthāyibhāva* as such involves these two factors, one as its subject and the other as the object. By the description of *nāyaka*, i.e. *āśraya*, and his counterpart, *ālambanavibhāva*, whether *nāyikā* or *pratināyaka*, as the case may be, the *sahṛdaya* will automatically have an overall picture of the principal emotion which the poet is going to handle.

To sum up, the *āśraya*, the *ālambanavibhāva* and the *sthāyibhāva* are the three corner-stones on which the entire structure of aesthetic theory is built up. Among these, the *āśraya* and the *ālambanavibhāva* are the two focal points, which the poet makes use of, to handle the main thread of the *sthāyibhāva*. The poet invents and develops the strings of the narrative by connecting them to these poles at one point or the other, to sustain the attention of the *sahṛdayas* and thereby respond to the aesthetic appeal.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF RAGHUVAMŚA ON THE BASIS OF ARUNAGIRINĀTHA'S COMMENTARY

S. VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER

Importance of the Prakāśikā

The commentary Prakāśikā by Arunagirinātha on the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa¹ is important in many respects. It is more detailed than many other commentaries. It explains the *alaṅkāras* in most of the verses and discusses them in some, as it considers this factor as an essential requisite in understanding the ultimate sense (*vākyaṛtha*)². It expounds the *dhvani* in many cases³ and examines the various

1. Published in Ravi Varma Sanskrit Series No. 3, Trippunitura, Kerala, 1964. This contains the commentary *Padārthadīpikā* of Nārāyaṇa also, which closely follows the *Prakāśikā*.

2. In the beginning of the commentary it is stated :

वाक्यार्थतत्त्वावगमो नालङ्कारगतिविना ।

ततो मयार्थालङ्कारा बाहुल्येनात्र दर्शिताः ॥

There are long discussions about the *alaṅkāras* citing several authorities, as for instance, under 1, 12, 13 and 15.

3. See, for example :—

i) Under *tadaṅgamagryam* etc., (III. 46) :

पथिपद्धतिशब्दाभ्यामाचारो लक्ष्यते, द्योत्यते च सदसज्जनप्रहृतत्वं ; आदानेनानुष्ठानं लक्ष्यते, झटित्यपरित्यागश्च द्योत्यत इत्ययमत्यन्ततिरस्कृतवाच्यो ध्वनिभेदः ।

ii) Under *sasañjuraśvaksuññānām* etc., (IV. 50) :

यथा केचित् समरोपहतजनपदभ्रष्टाः पर्यटन्तस्तुल्यजातीयेषु सज्जन्ति तथैव तेऽपीत्युपमाध्वनिः पदप्रकाश्यः । क्षुब्धेणोपद्रुतस्य महानेव गतिरित्यर्थान्तरन्यासध्वनिश्च वाक्यप्रकाश्यः ।

iii) Under *tāmrāparṇīsametasya* (IV. 48), where in explaining :

ते निपत्य ददुस्तस्मै यशः स्वमिव सञ्चितम् ।

it is stated :

यश इवेत्युत्प्रेक्षया तस्याप्यसाधारणरत्नभाजनतालक्षणस्य यशसो भाजनं स एव संवृत्त इति ध्वन्यते ।

*rasas*⁴. It elucidates the *sandhis* and their *āṅgas* in the different episodes⁵. Frequently it cites and counters the criticisms of others⁶. It gives alternative readings in some cases⁷ and provides new meanings and fresh interpretations⁸.

4. See under I. 1 :

शिवयोरुपादानाच्च सर्वरसाश्रयत्वं सर्वपुरुषार्थहेतुत्वं च, यतस्तावेवादौ रसाभिनयं कुर्वाणौ नाट्यवेदे प्रवर्तितवन्तौ । पुरुषार्थहेतुत्वं च तयोः प्रसिद्धम् । अत्र दिलीपादिचरिते भूयसा धर्मस्य व्युत्पत्तिः वीरश्च रसः । रघ्वादिचरिते अर्थस्य, तस्यैवान्त्याश्रमालम्बने मोक्षस्य, शान्तश्च रसः । अग्निवर्णचरितादौ कामस्य, शृङ्गारश्च । अजप्रलापादौ करुणरसः । ताटकावृत्तान्तादौ वीभत्सः । शूर्पणखावृत्तान्तादौ हास्यः । तद्दर्शनादौ सीतादेः भयानकः । जामदग्न्यवर्णने रौद्रः । मायासिंहेतिवृत्तादावद्भुतः ।

5. For instance :—

- i) in I. 33. *tasyāmātmānūrūpāyām* etc., the *āṅga upakṣepa* is pointed out :

अत्रात्मानुरूपायामिति तदीत्सुक्ये हेतुः । तच्चौत्सुक्यं प्रीतेर्व्यभिचारि । मनोरथाश्चानुभावाः । तत्र बीजभूतो नायकोत्साह आत्सुक्यात्मनोपक्षिप्तः । तदिदमुपक्षेपाख्यमङ्गम् ।

- ii) In I. 78 *sutam madīyām* etc., *yukti* is indicated :

अर्थसम्प्रधारणरूपं युक्तितर्नामाङ्गमिदम् ।

- iii) At the close of the third canto it is stated :

अत्र सर्गे निर्वहणसन्धिः दिलीपचरितस्य, रघुचरितस्य तु मुखसन्धिरिति द्रष्टव्यम् ।

6. For example :—

- i) Under I. 12 *tadanvaye śuddhimati* etc., the views of Udbhaṭa and Vāmana are cited and that of Mahimabhaṭṭa is refuted.
- ii) Under II. 48 *bhūtanukampa* etc., Kuntaka is criticised for his remarks.
- iii) Under III. 23 *umāyapṛāṇkau* etc., the objections raised in *Vyakti-viveka* are answered in detail.

7. See for instance :—

- i) Under I. 57 *tamātithyakriyāśānta* etc. :
'आतिथेयस्तमातिथ्यविनीताध्वपरिश्रमम्' इति वा पाठः ।
- ii) Under II. 54 *katham nu śakyānunayo* etc. :
'प्रहृतं त्वया स्याद्' इति पाठे प्रहारीत्यर्थः ।
- iii) Under III. 6 *upetyā sa dauhydaduḥkha* etc.
'दोहद-' इति वा पाठः ।

8. A few may be cited :—

- i) The very name of the work is taken as *Raghuvamśah* and not *Raghuvamśam* and this is justified in a discussion which reminds us

More than all this, a particularly noteworthy feature of this commentary is its numerous differences in the text from that of Mallinatha which is generally considered as preserving the oldest and,

of the style of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* :

ननु रघुवंशशब्दे कः समासः । तत्पुरुषः रघोर्वंश इति । तत्र रघुवंशः प्रबन्धः इति कथं सामानाधिकरण्यम् । अर्थपरत्वात् । तर्हि बहुव्रीहिः रघोर्वंशोऽस्मिन्निति । ननु तत्रापि कथं रघुवंशः काव्यमिति । तर्हि पुनरस्तु तत्पुरुषः । तत्रोक्तदोष इति चेन्न तत् अभिधेयेनाभिधायकमपि व्यपदिशन्ति कवयः, यथा जानकीहरणं प्रबन्धः, शिशुपालवधः काव्यमिति ।

- ii) The word *pratipatti* in I. 1, which is generally taken only in *jñānārtha* here, is taken as applicable in all the six different meanings by Keśavasvāmin, some pertaining to the poet and others to the poem :

प्रतिपत्तिशब्देन च गौरवम्, प्राप्तिः, प्रवृत्तिः, प्रागल्भ्यम्, प्रतिभा, ज्ञानम् इति षडप्यर्थास्तन्त्रेणोपात्ताः । तत्र गौरवं माधुर्यादिगुणसम्पत्त्या सहृदयबहुमानम् । प्राप्तिः निर्वहणप्राप्तिः । प्रवृत्तिः स्वयमेव सङ्घटनारूढिः । प्रागल्भ्यं दोषराहित्येन निश्शङ्कता । प्रतिभा प्रत्युत्पन्ना सतिः तत्तदुचितशब्दार्थविशेषलाभफला । ज्ञानं यथातत्त्वसंवेदनम् । एष्वर्थेष्वस्य प्रयोगा द्रष्टव्याः । तथा च केशवस्वामी —

‘...प्रतिपत्तिस्तु गौरवे ।

प्राप्ती प्रवृत्ती प्रागल्भ्ये प्रतिभाज्ञानयोरपि ॥’

इति । एते च धर्मा यथासम्भवं मुख्यतया गौणतया च वक्तुविषयत्वेन वागर्थविषयत्वेन च वेदितव्याः ।

The originality of the commentator is remarkable here.

- iii) The *guṇa mādhubhya* of the *sāttvikānāyaka* is shown as presented in I. 47. *tattadbhūmipatiḥ* etc. :

अत्र सात्त्विकनायकगुणेषु माधुर्यमुपनिबद्धम् । तस्य च लक्षणम् :

‘श्लक्ष्णो विकारो माधुर्यं संक्षोभे सुमहत्पि’

इति । यथा ‘कपोले जानक्या’ इत्यादि । अत्र च गुरुदिदृक्षालक्षणे महति विकारहेती सत्यपि मार्गलङ्घनविकारस्योचितनायिकोपलालनापरिहाणेन माधुर्यमुपनिबद्धम् । नस्वन्न वीरोपमर्दकः शृङ्गार इति मन्तव्यम्, यतः पत्न्यै इत्युक्तम् । पत्नीशब्दश्च धर्मसाधनभूतायां रूढः, न कान्तादितुल्यकक्षयः ।

(I have mentioned a few examples and given the relevant extracts in view of the fact that this commentary is not very much known although it has been available in print for a fairly long time.)

therefore, most probably the original readings [of the poet⁹. In the Prakāśikā there are significant omissions and transpositions of stanzas and variation in readings in many cases compared to the Sañjivini of Mallinātha. These deserve attention for three reasons. First, although both Aruṇagirinātha and Mallinātha were south Indians and lived more or less at the same time, the date assigned to the one being c. 1350-1450¹⁰ A.D. and to the other the middle of the 14th century, they were distant from each other, being in Kerala and Andhra respectively, and they have written their commentaries without mutual knowledge and following separate textual traditions. Second, Kerala has the reputation as a region where the manuscripts are generally found to preserve the original readings and the commentators found to keep fidelity to the texts as they have got them without effecting emendations, and, as such, Aruṇagirinātha's text can be considered as keeping in a fair measure the authentic text. It may be noted in this connection that even the critical editions of Kālidāsa's works brought out under Government auspices have not paid adequate attention to the manuscripts from the south India, especially Kerala, as pointed out by scholars like A. K. Warder¹¹. Third, Aruṇagirinātha can be seen to show familiarity mainly only with two commentaries, those of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, who too lived in Kerala and a century earlier¹², and Vallabhadeva who belonged to Kashmir and lived a century still earlier. There is close correspondence between the texts of Kashmir and Kerala, as instanced by the critical text of Meghasandēśa prepared by S. K. De¹³. They are the least inflated, and Kerala preserves the shortest.

9. The observation of G. R. Nandargikar in the preface to his critical edition of *Raghuvamśa*, 4th ed., Delhi, 1971, may be noted :

“Mallinātha is the only commentator who shows a strong inclination to preserve, as far as he could and appreciate, the oldest and, therefore, most probably the original readings of the poet himself”, (p. 21).

10. Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer, *Keralīyasaṁskṛtasaṁhityacaritram*, vol. I, Trivandrum, 1974, p. 352 ; S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, *Kerala Sanskrit literature, a Bibliography*, Trivandrum, 1976, p. 6.

11. A. K. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, vol. I, Delhi, 1972, pp 235-36.

12. Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer, *op. cit.*, p. 351 ; N. V. P. Unithiri, *Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, a commentator on Kālidāsa's poems*, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur, vol. XIV, pp. 216-22.

13. Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1957.

An attempt is made here to examine the more important variations in the Prakāśikā taking the first four cantos as specimen, and discuss the extent of their validity in fixing the original text of the Raghuvamśa. In this the readings of other important commentators like Vallabhadeva, Cāritravardhana and Dinakara and some manuscripts groups are also taken into account for comparison¹⁴. The explanations in the commentary Padārthadīpikā of Nārāyaṇa which closely follows the Prakāśikā are also considered whenever found necessary.

Omissions

1. The most important omission in A's text is of the following verses :

अवजानासि मां यस्मादतस्ते न भविष्यति ।
मत्प्रसूतिमनाराध्य प्रजेति त्वां शशाप सा ॥
स शापो न त्वया राजन् न च सारथिना श्रुतः ।
नदत्याकाशगङ्गायाः स्रोतस्युद्दामदिग्गजे ॥

in the first canto (M. 77, 78) in the context of Vasiṣṭha's telling Dilipa the impediment to his getting progeny. A careful examination would show that this passage is unnecessary for several reasons and is likely to be an early interpolation. First, it is not in keeping with the nature of the great and gentle Divine Cow to take offence at the unwitting failure of the king to respect her, much less to curse him, particularly when he was hastening to perform another important and urgent duty. The reason given for the king's inability to hear the curse looks quite artificial and reminds us of the deliberate stratagem employed in the Mahābhārata in making Yudhiṣṭhira's pronouncement of the death of the elephant Aśvatthāma inaudible. Second, the cause of the obstruction in his not getting issue is given in the next verse as his transgression of duty (knowingly or unknowingly),

प्रतिवदनाति हि श्रेयः पूज्यपूजाव्यतिक्रमः

making it, thus, the result of his own action and not the imposition by any external agency, and, thereby, absolving Surabhī of direct

14. For this the readings cited in Nandargikar's ed. are followed. For Mallinātha the Nirṇayasagar ed. (1925) is used. The following abbreviations are used :

A=Arūṇagirinātha ; C=Cāritravardhana ; D=Dinakara ; M=Mallinātha
N=Nārāyaṇa ; NK=Nandargikar ; V=Vallabhadeva ; S=Sumatīvijaya.

involvement in the matter. Third, even granting that the curse is there, strangely the atonement for the curse also is given unasked, which is not the way it is found done in our mythological lore. Fourth, if the curse were true and the redemption from it is by the propitiation of its progeny, it passes one's comprehension why Vasiṣṭha should suggest Nandinī, the daughter of Surabhī, as a substitute for her when the condition for redemption is the worship of Nandinī herself and not Surabhī. Fifth, Aruṇagiri does not stand alone here. Nandargikar's two manuscripts groups A and B representing the north-western region, do not have these verses.

2. Another case of omission is of the verse :

खर्जूरीस्कन्धनद्धानां मदोद्गारसुगन्धिषु ।
कटेष्ु करिणां पेतुः पुन्नागेष्वः शिलीमुखाः ॥

in the fourth canto (M. 57). It occurs amidst the verses describing Raghu's march in the west coast, but its position there is anomalous since *kharjūrī*, date-palm, is not seen there. Lone among the commentators Vallabhadeva reads it between the verses *parasikāṁstato jetum* etc., and *yavanimukhapadmanam* etc., (M. 60, 61) which position is more appropriate because the region concerned is the desert in the north-western part and the *kharjūrī* grows there¹⁵. But then there will be another discrepancy, namely, the bees leaving the *Punnāga* flowers and warming at the cheeks of the elephants, being drawn by the ichor flowing there, because the *Punnāga* tree does not grow in the desert. Kālidāsa would not have given together two trees which do not grow in one region. There is every possibility, therefore, of this verse being spurious.

3. The third instance of omission by A is the verse :

आकीर्णमुपिपत्तीनामुट्जद्वाररोधिभिः ।
अपत्यैरिव नीवारभागधेयोचितैर्मृगैः ॥

in the first canto (M. 50). He stands alone here. Still his text, without this verse, seems to be the poet's original, since this verse is

15. It is a native of Arabia and is grown in the western parts of India :

खर्जूरी गोस्तनाकारा परद्वीपादिहागता ।
जायते पश्चिमे देशे सा छोहारेति कीर्तिता ॥

—*Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu, phaladivarga. 116.*

Paradvīpa is explained as Arabia.

anomalous. It describes herds of deer flocking at the door of the hermitage for getting their dole of *nīvāra* grain. This goes against the statement just one verse later, *atapatyayasamkṣipta* etc. that the deer are chewing the cud reposing themselves on heaps of *nīvāra* grain collected in the evening, which shows that there is no need for them to crowd at the hermitage for food. Repetition of the same objects in the same context and in such quick succession, which will be the case if we take *ākīrṇamṛṣipatninām* etc. also as genuine, is not in the manner of Kālidāsa.

Transpositions

Next we may examine the transpositions :—

1. The first is in the set of five verses *parasparakṣisādṛśyam* etc., to *grāmeṣvātmavisṛṣṭeṣu* etc., in the first canto (M. 40-44). Here A reads *pavanasyānukūlatvat* etc., (M. 42) before *parasparakṣisādṛśyam* etc., and *śreṇibandhāt* etc., (M. 40-41) and transposes the order of *sarasīṣvaravindānām* etc., and *grāmeṣvātmavisṛṣṭeṣu* etc., (M. 43-44). In this case A stands alone and the change in the order has nothing much to commend itself except, perhaps, that the mention of the favourable wind warding off the dust falling on the royal couple before they see the likeness of their eyes in the deer couple and raising their heads at the gentle cackling of the cranes, removes any impediment in these actions.

2. The next instance is in the group of thirteen verses *dilipānantaram* *rājye* etc., to *labdhaprasāmanasvastham* in the fourth canto (M. 2-14). Here A reads *dilipānantaram* etc., the second verse according to M as the 13th after *pañcanamapi bhūtanam* etc. It transposes *mandotkanṭhāḥ kṛtāstena* etc., and *sa hi sarvasya lokasya* etc., (M. 8, 9; A7, 8). It reverses the order of *yathā prahlaḍanāccandraḥ* etc., and *kāmam karṇāntaviśrante* etc., (M. 12, 13) and places them immediatly after *sa hi sarvasya lokasya* etc.

The proper position of the śloka

दिलीपानन्तरं राज्ये तं निशम्य प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

पूर्वं प्रधूमितो राज्ञां हृदयेऽग्निरिवोत्थितः ॥

seems to be as given by A. The first śloka in this canto states that Raghu shone more after receiving the kingdom from his father—

स राज्यं गुरुणा दत्तं प्रतिपद्याधिकं बभौ ।

How he did so is described in the thirteen verses from *puruhūta-dhvajasyeva* etc., which show his good administration and the prosperity in the land. This is the reason for the enemy kings feeling frustrated and perturbed¹⁶, and it is proper that the verses showing this occurs after this account. It is also more natural to state first what the king's own subjects felt before stating what the adversaries felt about him. The śloka *labdhapraśamanasvasthanam* etc., which speaks of his having got peace of mind by subjugating his enemies logically follows this. M's explanation of the word *labdhapraśamanasvasthanam* namely,

लब्धस्य राज्यस्य प्रशमनेन परिपन्थितामनुरञ्जनप्रतीकाराभ्यां स्थिरीकरणेन
स्वस्थं समाहितचित्तं रघुम्

also shows that the preceding verse should refer to the enemies. It is *dilipānantaram* etc., that satisfies this and not *kāmaṁ karṇāntaviśrānte* etc., as we get in his text, which speaks of the king's close adherence to Śāstra.

The verse *mandorkaṇṭhaḥ* etc., speaks of the people beginning to think of Dilipa less and less because of the superior virtues of Raghu. There is propriety in *sa hi sarvasya lokasya* etc., following this, since it contains the reason for this, namely his meeting out punishment in accordance with the nature of the guilt. V and S have the order as A's. Then follow the two verses *kāmaṁ karṇāntaviśrānte* etc., and *yathā prahladanāccandraḥ* etc., before *nayavidbhīḥ* etc., and *pañcānam api bhūtanam* etc., thus transposing the two pairs as seen in M. A's order is more natural as in it we get first what the king did by himself and then how he responded to the masters of polity. This is the order of C also. We also find the transposition between *yathā prahladanāccandraḥ* etc., and *kāmaṁ karṇāntaviśrānte* etc., (M. 12, 13). This has the merit of having first how the king always guided himself by Śāstra and then the effect of this namely his making the people happy (*prakṛtirañjana*). But no other commentator has A's order here.

3. The third example of transposition is in the group of ten verses *sa sainyaparibhogena* etc., to *bhayotsrṣṭavibhuṣaṇam* etc., in the same canto (M. 45-54). Here *bhayotsrṣṭavibhuṣaṇam* etc., with the

16. A's explanation of *rājye pratiṣṭhitam* may be noted :

राज्ये प्रकृतिसमष्टौ प्रतिष्ठितमनुरञ्जनेन लब्धस्येमानम् । अनेन प्रत्याशाभङ्ग-
हेतुस्ततः ।

reading *colakayoṣitam* for *keralayoṣitam* occurs immediately after *sa sainya-paribhogena* etc., which refers to river Kāverī in the Coḷa country and this position is, therefore, justifiable. A also points out that some read here *keralayoṣitam* and have this verse in the context of the expedition to Kerala¹⁷. Then we get the transposition of the set of two verses *diśi mandāyate tejo* etc., and *tāmrāparṇisametasya* etc., (M. 48, 49) and the set of three verses *balairadhyuṣitastasya* etc., and *sasañjuraśvakṣuṇṇānam* etc. (M. 46-48). According to M's order of verses, which is followed by most others also, we find the sequence of Coḷa, Western ghats, Pāṇḍya, then again the Western ghats and Kerala. Here the position of the Pāṇḍya country is not in the logical order. But in A we find the Pāṇḍya immediately after Coḷa and then all the verses relating to the Western ghats and Kerala together. This is the natural route, though A has got here the support of D alone. The set of the three verses beginning with *balairadhyuṣitāḥ* etc., which speaks of pepper, cardamom and sandal, all products of the Western ghats, has certainly a more suitable position in the context of Raghu's expedition to the west after the Pāṇḍya country, and its position before it, as in M, is obviously anamalous.

4. Another case of this change of position is of the verse *tamaṅkamāropya* etc., in the third canto (M. 26) which occurs two verses earlier in A. It speaks of the great pleasure derived by Dilipa and Sudakṣiṇa by their physical contact with the child Raghu, and its position in either place is quite in order. In M its occurrence immediately after *pitur mudam tena tatana so'rbbhakaḥ* indicates the intensity of the pleasure. In A its occurrence immediately after... *prema parasparāśrayam, ...parasparasyopari paryacīyata* indicates the intensity of their affection for the child which intensified their own mutual love. Here A stands alone¹⁸.

17. केचित्तु 'केरलयोषिताम्' इति पाठमादृत्य तत्प्रकरणे पठन्ति ।

18. The order of the verses in the above cases is given below :

(i) Canto I

M	A
40. परस्परारक्षि	40. पवनस्य
41. श्रेणीबन्धाद्	41. परस्परारक्षि
42. पवनस्य	42. श्रेणीबद्धौ
43. सरसीषु	43. ग्रामेषु
44. ग्रामेषु	44. सरसीषु

Variant Readings

We may now turn to the variant readings. Compared with M's text we find in A's about 100 instances of difference in the first four cantos alone. A large number of these are better readings, some

(ii) Canto IV

M	A
2. दिलीपानन्तरं	2. पुरुहूतध्वजस्य
3. पुरुहूतध्वजस्य	3. सममेव
4. सममेव	4. छायामण्डल
5. छायामण्डल	5. परिकल्पित
6. परिकल्पित	6. मनुप्रभृतिभिः
7. मनुप्रभृतिभिः	7. मन्दोत्कण्ठाः
8. स हि सर्वस्य	8. स हि सर्वस्य
9. मन्दोत्कण्ठाः	9. कामं कर्णन्ति
10. नयविद्धिः	10. यथा प्रह्लादनात्
11. पञ्चानामपि	11. नयविद्धिः
12. यथा प्रह्लादनात्	12. पञ्चानामपि
13. कामं कर्णन्ति	13. दिलीपानन्तरं
14. लब्धप्रशमन	14. लब्धप्रशमन

(iii) Canto IV

M	A
45. स सैन्य	45. स सैन्य
46. बलैः	46. भयोत्सृष्ट
47. ससञ्जुः	47. दिशि
48. भोगिवेष्टन	48. ताम्रपर्णी
49. दिशि	49. बलैः
50. ताम्रपर्णी	50. ससञ्जुः
51. स निर्विशय	51. भोगिवेष्टन
52. असह्यविक्रमः	52. स निर्विशय
53. तस्यानीकैः	53. असह्यविक्रमः
54. भयोत्सृष्ट	54. तस्यानीकैः

(iv) Canto III

M	A
25. उवाच धाव्या	25. तमङ्कमारोप्य
26. तमङ्कमारोप्य	26. अमस्त चानेन
27. अमस्त चानेन	27. उवाच धाव्या

equally suitable and a few inferior. There are also examples of readings cited but not adopted, although they seem superior. We may examine a few of these by way of specimen :—

A. Readings which are preferable

1. अथायर्वनिघ्नेस्तस्य विजितारिपुरः पुरः । (I. M 59, A 58)

Here A has *viṣṭaripurassaraḥ*. NK's Ms. groups D, P read as in A. This is better as it gives the sense 'the formost among those who have conquered their foes', and there is no reference to Dilīpa's having conquered or destroyed any city of the enemies in particular to suit the reading *viṣṭaripuraḥ* naturally explained as *viṣṭaśatrunagaraḥ*. We take *puraḥ* meaning *agre* but this is not necessary if we take the genitive in *atharvanidhestasya* as *sambandhamatre śaṣṭhi* as A has done.

2. सुतां तदीयां सुरभेः कृत्वा प्रतिनिधिं शुचिः । (I. M 81, A 78)

A reads *madīyām* for *tadīyām* and this has the support of V and six manuscripts of NK. Since we get *surabheḥ sūtām* the word *tadīyām* is unnecessary while *madīyām* indicates that Nandinī, the daughter of Surabhī, is absolutely the sage's own, *matsvamikām* as A explains, and, as such, there is no difficulty for Dilīpa to attend on her. M takes *surabheḥ* with *pratinidhim* but then the word *tadīyām* may give the impression that she belonged to some one else.

3. निर्दिष्टां कुलपतिना स पर्णशाला-
मध्यास्य प्रयतपरिग्रहद्वितीयः । (I. M 95, A 92)

The reading of A is *dharmasālam* for *parṇasālam* although he cites the other reading (*parṇasālam iti vā pāṭhaḥ*) and he is alone in having it. This deserves consideration. The *dharmasāla* is a cottage meant for guests, as explained by him (*atithijanārtha śāla*) although that too will naturally be a *parṇasāla*, and accommodation in it is befitting the royal guests.

4. अवेहि मां किङ्करमष्टमूर्तेः
कुम्भोदरं नाम निकुम्भमितम् । (II. 35)

A reads *nikumbhatulyam* for *nikumbhamitram*. This does not have the support of any one else. Still it is preferable. Kumbhodara

has an importance of his own among the *gaṇas* as he serves as the step for Śiva to mount his bull. His friendship with Nikumbha, another *gaṇa*, has no additional purpose to serve here ; in fact, it may took even a bit irrelevant. But to say that he is equal to Nikumbha has much significance because, as the story goes, Nikumbha burnt to ashes the king of Kāśī and his subjects enraged at his action of cutting down a big tree in which he was living, and this throws the indication that Dilīpa too may have to face a similar consequence if he interfered to release the prey from his clutches¹⁹.

5. इमामनूनां सुरभेरेवेहि... । (II. 54)

The reading of A is *tanujam* for *anūnām*. Here too he stands alone, but his reading is more natural. First of all, *anūnām* indicates equality and it is not proper to say that the daughter Nandinī is equal to the mother Surabhī. Secondly, the question of equality is not the point here. But when we say that she is the daughter of Surabhī, all her greatness and divinity inherited is suggested and adds force to the fact that no substitute could be found for her to be produced before the sage. The idea conveyed by *anūnām* can also be got by this by implication, if necessary.

6. ...प्रीतास्मि ते पुत्र वरं वृणीष्व । (II. 63)

Here A has *hanta* for *putra*, another unique case. *Hanta* expresses delight as pointed out by A (*hanta harṣe*) which, in its turn, shows how immensely Nandinī was pleased at the conduct of the king. The verse does not lose its force in any way even if the word *putra* is not there. It may be noted that the word *vatsa* occurs just one verse before (*utiṣṭha vatsetyamṛtāyamānam*) and *putra* itself occurs one verse after (*putropayunḥṣveri tamādideśa*) and its presence here may look even redundant.

7. उवाच घाट्या प्रथमोदितं वचो... । (III. M 25, A 27)

Here A's reading is *prathamoditam yad* which has no support of others but preferable because it supplies the *sambandhapada yad* for *tena* in the last line *piturmudam tena śiśustatāna saḥ* (M. *pitur*

19. This story from the *Mahābhārata* is cited by A and the observation is made :

अनेन महाभारतप्रसिद्धमितिहासं दृष्टान्तयन् परमेश्वरानुभावोपवृंहितेषु सर्वपुरुषकारा विफलीभवन्तीति द्योतयति ।

mudam tena tatana so'rbhakhaḥ)²⁰ and also because when the word *uditam* is there *vacaḥ* is superfluous. M too feels the need of *yat* here since he says *iti yat tena piturmudam tatana*.

8. पथः श्रुतेर्दर्शयितार ईश्वराः

मलीमसामाददते न पद्धतिम् । (III. 46)

A has *pathaḥ ūceḥ* for *pathaḥ śruteḥ* and here he has the company of C, V, S and a wide variety of Ms. of NK. with the reading *śruteḥ* the meaning Veda for *śruti* has to be taken in the secondary sense 'the pure, the righteous' whereas with the reading *ūceḥ* that sense is got directly.

9 प्रजार्यसाधने ती हि पर्यायोद्यतकार्मुकौ । (IV. 16)

A reads *paryāyodyamaviśramau* which is noticed by D and is seen in NK's Ms. group D ; M too mentions it. This speaks of activity and rest alternately for both Indra and Raghu and is preferable to the other which speaks of their alternately raising the bow alone. Moreover the word *dhanuḥ* occurs in the first half of the verse and a word in the same sense in the second half is unnecessary.

10. वङ्गानुत्वाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्यतान् । (IV. 36)

A reads *ripūn nausadghanoddhatān* for *neta nausāddhanodyatan*. The change of *neta* into *ripūn* is seen in A alone but the other change is seen in V and in a dozen Mss. of Nk. The first change is not of a serious nature although it may be said that *neta* is understood here and *ripūn* emphasises the opposition of the enemies. But the change of *udyatān* into *uddhatān* is noteworthy since while the first simply states that they attempted the battle moving in the boats, the latter shows that they were proud of their capacity for battle using boats, Raghu being not familiar with it. This *auddhatya* declares them as enemies and hence the propriety of the word *ripūn*²¹.

11. भयोत्सृष्टविभूषाणां तेन केरलयोषिताम् । (IV. M 54, A 46)

As mentioned earlier, A has *colakayoṣitam* for *keralayoṣitam* and the śloka occurs in the context of the Coḷa country. The dust raised by

20. A states here :

तेनेति समुच्चितेन यच्छब्दपरामृष्टेन वाक्यार्थद्वयेण हेतुनेत्यर्थः ।

21. See N :

नावा साधनेन युद्धसाधनोद्यतान् दृप्तान् । अत एव कृतापराधत्वाद् रिपून् ।

the marching army is described as settling on the forelocks of the women who gave up their ornaments out of fear. This does not suit Kerala which is an evergreen land with dense forests full of hills and dales and profuse vegetation and growth of thick grass even on the pathways that no dust will be raised anywhere, much less to the extent of being wafted by the wind. The women there have never been fond of jewellery and least timid to give them up even if they had any. But it suits the Coḷa country which is a plain where dust is common and where women are known for their attachment to ornaments. Although many people proudly cite this verse as Kālidāsa's referring to Kerala and its women, here is a commentator hailing from that same region who finds the text to be not referring to this at all, although aware of such a reading, thereby showing his objectivity.

12. कामरूपेश्वरस्तस्य हेमपीठाधिदेवताम् । (IV. M 84, A 83)

Here A has *upapannasukhaścāsyā* for *kāmarūpeśvarastasya*. He alone has this reading. Still it is preferable for two reasons, one the expression, *iśaḥ kāmarūpaṇām* occurs in the preceding verse and here it will be a repetition, and the other that *upapannasukhaḥ* shows that the king of Kāmarūpa had attained peace of mind at Raghu's being pleased with the elephants already presented to him and this makes him happy to make further presents of gems²².

B. Readings which are not the best

1. तद्गुणैः कर्णमागत्य चापलाय प्रचोदितः । (I. 9)

A reads *pratāritah* for *pracoditah*, a reading supported by the Ms. group D of Nk belonging to central India. It is explained as *pratāritah vañcitatḥ*. Though that is the meaning of the word, how it is acceptable here is not stated. But he himself does not seem to be satisfied with this, and so offers another explanation, *athavā prataraṇamkaritah protsahitah*²³. Though this is the sense required

22. Ibid :

गजसमर्पणानन्तरमस्य प्रसाददर्शनादुत्पन्नमोदः सन् महार्घाणि रत्नान्यपि वित्तीयं पादप्रणामं कृतवानित्यर्थः ।

23. N has here the statement *pratāritah vañcitatḥ protsāhita iti yavat* which would mean *vañcana* is *protsāhana*.

here how the word can mean this is not known. So another explanation is given *athava bhr̥śadattaḥ*, 'pratarāṇam mahadānam' iti *halāyudhaḥ*, that if fully applying himself to the task. Finally the idea is given : *ayamabhiprayaḥ—tadanvaye labdhabuddhipraveśasya me mandāpi vāk pravṛttaḥ, yataḥ tadguṇaḥ dhairyadi paripanthinaḥ pravartayitāraḥ*, thereby indicating that *pratarāṇa* means *pravṛtti-preraṇa*. How much A labours here is quite clear. M's *pracoditaḥ* and the explanation *preritaḥ san* appear more natural²⁴.

2. अभ्युत्थिताग्निपिशुनैरतिथीनाशमोन्मुखात् । (I. M 53, A 52)

The reading of A is *abhyuddhṛtagni* for *abhyutthitagni*. This is the reading of C, V, D and six Mss. of Nk. A explains *abhyuddharāṇa* as *agni-praṇayana* which is further elucidated by N as *praṇayanam nāma agnihotrahomaṭ pūrvam eva kartavyā kriyā*. M's *abhyutthitaḥ* meaning *prajvalitaḥ* is better here because the reference in the latter part of the verse is to the wafting by the wind of the smoke smelling of the offerings in the fire and these offerings are to be made when the fire is ablaze for which he cites authority—*samiddhe'gnāvahutir juhotti iti vacanāt*. In the ritual *praṇayana* preceding this, this is not possible.

3. प्रत्यब्रवीच्चैनमिषुप्रयोगे तत्पूर्वभङ्गे वितथप्रयत्नः । (II. 42)

A has *saṅge* for *bhaṅge*²⁵ and N explains *saṅga* as *pratibandha* which is the same as the one given by M for *bhaṅga*. This meaning is more common for *bhaṅga* than for *saṅga* which has generally the meaning just the opposite of *bhaṅga*. We may note, however, that the word *asaṅga* occurs later on also in *asaṅgamadrīśvapi* (III. 63) where M explains *asaṅga* as *apratibandha* while A has *asakta* which is given the same meaning by N.

4. इक्षुच्छायनिषादिन्यस्तस्य गोप्तुर्गुणोदयम् । (IV. 20)

For M's *ikṣucchayaniṣadinyah* A has *ikṣucchayāniṣadinyah* and he stands alone in this, though M too is aware of this. Naturally by the Pāṇini sūtra *chaya bāhulye* (2.4.22) we should get *ikṣucchayam* and M's reading accordingly is preferable because the women guarding the

24: The reading of M, as given by NK, is, however, *praṇoditaḥ* which, ofcourse, has the same meaning as *pracoditaḥ*.

25. M'S text according to NK has *pūrvasaṅge*.

paddy fields cannot remain in the shade of a single sugarcane plant or even one under each, because a single plant cannot provide the shade necessary here. N's explanation *bāhulyasyāvivakṣitatvāna napūmsakalingata, ikṣūṇām chayāniṣādinya iti vā vighrahaḥ* may be acceptable, but the reading is not preferable. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's explanation of the reading *ikṣucchāyā* with an additional *a* coalescing at its end—*ikṣucchāyāniṣādinyaḥ iti tu āsamantānniṣādinyaḥ ityāṅsleṣo bodhyaḥ*—is ingenious²⁶, but M's reading gives the sense direct.

5. ययौ पश्चाद्रथादीति चतुःस्कन्धेव सा चमूः । (IV. M 30, A 31)

Here A has the lone reading *rathaditvāt* for *rathāditi* and takes the word *paścadrathaditvāt* as a compound and not *paścāt* separately—*paścādbhāge rathadir yasya sa tathā tasya bhāvastattvam*. Although this is justifiable, M's reading is more natural with the form *rathadi* and *paścāt* separately since it goes well with the words showing the four factors fancied as constituting the four divisions of the army—*agre pratāpaḥ, tataḥ śabdah, tadanantaram parāgaḥ, paścād rathadi iti*.

6. आपादपद्मप्रणताः कलमा इव ते रघुम् ।
फलैः संवर्धयामासुर्त्खातप्रतिरोपिताः ॥ (IV. 37)

Here too A has the lone reading *pravaṇāḥ* for *praṇataḥ* and *dhanaiḥ* for *phalaiḥ*. The verse speaks of Raghu's subduing the Vāṅgas, then reinstating them and they, in their turn, bowing to his feet and giving him wealth in plenty. Here *pravaṇāḥ* meaning 'bending down' is better than *praṇataḥ* which means 'bowing', but *phalaiḥ* is better than *dhanaiḥ* because *phala* can mean 'fruit' as applicable to the *kalama* plants and 'wealth' as applicable to the kings. The citation from Keśava given by M makes it clear—*phalam phale dhane bīje niṣpattau bhogalabhayoḥ sasye*.

C. Readings which are equally suitable

1. इति विज्ञापितो राज्ञा ध्यानस्तिमितलोचनः । (I. M 73, A 72)

A has *viññapite* for *viññapito* with the explanation *viññapite iti nimittasaptamī*. If it is *viññapito* it will be a *viśeṣaṇa* to *ṛṣi*.

26. See *Siddhāntakaumudī* under this sūtra.

2. शशाम वृष्ट्यापि विना दवाग्निरासीद्विशेषा फलपुष्पवृद्धिः । (II. 14)

A reads *viśeṣād* for *viśeṣa*, but the meaning is the same. M explains *viśeṣyata iti viśeṣa atīṣayitā* and A explains *viśeṣadatiṣayāt, atīṣayam aśrityetyarthah*.

3. राजा स्वतेजोभिरदह्यतान्तर्भोगीव मन्त्रोषधिरुद्धवीर्यः । (II. 32)

The reading of A here is *mantreṇa niruddhavīryah*. Since an inhibition can be effected by *maṇi*, *mantra* or *auśadha*, the reading of A having *mantra* alone, serves the purpose. With *mantra* and *auśadhi* M's reading perhaps shows the intensity of the inhibition, namely the king's inability to move his stiffened arm.

4. अदेयमासीत् त्रयमेव भूपतेः शशिप्रभं छत्रमुभे च चामरे । (III. 16)

A reads here *dvayameva* for *trayameva*. Although apparently a variant which shows a serious difference in meaning, it can be seen to be actually not so. In counting what king Aja could not part with, 'two' represents the umbrella as one entity and the two *cāmaras* taken together as a single entity, while 'three' represents the one umbrella and the two *cāmaras* taken severally.

D. Better readings cited but not adopted

1. याज्यमाशंसितावन्ध्यप्रार्थनं पुनरब्रवीत् । (I. M 86, A 83)

An alternative reading *aśamsitavandhyam parthivam* is cited and explained as *aśamsite prarthanayam avandhyam amoghamanoratham ityarthah*. This seems preferable because what we require is the sense *saphalamanoratham* and this is got from *aśamsitāvandhyam*. Then instead of *yajyam* being taken as meaning *parthivam* (*yajayitum yogyam*) as M has done, it can be taken as a *viśeṣaṇa* to *parthiva* and this will add to his eminence.

2. अव्याहृतस्वैरगतैश्च तस्याः सम्राट् समाराधनतत्परोऽभूत् । (II. 5)

Here A observes '*svairagateḥ saḥ*' *iti va pāṭhaḥ*²⁷. This is better because it makes *avyahatasvairagatitva* an attribute to the cow and makes her one having full freedom of movement by herself and not because it is made so by Dilīpa. N adopts this reading and explains that the offering of *āsvadavatkavala*-s for food and the doing of *kaṇḍūyana* for the removal of flies which cause discomfort, are meant to promote the free movement of the cow—*avyahata apratihata*

27. M's reading is *avyahataiḥ svairagataiḥ sa tasyāḥ*.

*svairagatiḥ svairasañcāro yasyaḥ kṣudādayo hi svairasañcāram
nirundhantīti bhavaḥ.*

3. अधित्यकायामिव घातुमत्यां लोघद्रुमं सानुमतः प्रकुल्लम् । (II. 29)

The alternative reading *dhātumayyām* for *dhātumatyām* is cited here—*‘dhātumayyām’ iti vā pāṭhaḥ*. This is the reading of M also. This is preferable because while *dhātumatī* means ‘having the red mineral’ *dhātumayī* means ‘full of the red mineral’ and it is this latter that suits the comparison between the cow and the table-land.

4. स नन्दिनीस्तन्यमनिन्दितात्मा सद्वत्सलो वत्सनिपीतशेषम् । (II. 69)

We find here the alternative reading *vatsahutāvaśeṣam* for *vatsanipītaśeṣam* given. This is definitely a more acceptable reading because it is better to speak of Dilīpa as drinking Nandinī’s milk left after its use for its two main purposes, namely for the suckling of its calf and for the offering in fire in *homa*, which make the portion left (*śeṣa*) more sanctified²⁸, than speak of him as drinking it after it is given to the calf alone. This is the reading adopted by N²⁹. It is also in keeping with the earlier statement *vatsasya homarthavidheśca śeṣam* (II. 66).

Conclusion

The above examination leads us to the following conclusions :

1. Aruṇagirinatha’s text of the Raghuvamśa shows some significant differences from that of other commentators particularly Mallinātha.

2. These comprise some noteworthy omissions, changes in the order of the verses and variants in the forms of many words.

3. He has interpreted the text as he got it and not tried to ‘improve’ readings.

4. Keeping fidelity to his text, he has not adopted better readings he is aware of.

5. The text, as he has given us, is the shortest.

6. This text seems to be closer to the original than the texts followed by most other commentators.

28. See N under II. 66.

‘गवामूधोगतं क्षीरं वत्सपानेन शुध्यति’ इति वचनात् तच्छेषत्वोपादानम् ।
हुतशेषस्य मेध्यतरत्वात् तच्छेषत्वोक्तिः ।

29. This is better than M’s reading *vatsahutāvaśeṣam* because it mentions the two objects that consume the cow’s milk while the other mentions the object in one and the action in the other.

ON SOME READINGS IN NEMINĀTHA MAHĀKĀVYA

SATYAVRAT

None of the reviewers of my edition¹ of *Kīrtirāja Upādhyāya's* (c. 1482-1518 A. D.)² *Neminātha-mahākāvya* (NNM) deemed it fit to bestow thought on the comparative worth of the readings, adopted therein, out of a mass of tricky variants thrown up by the preceding editions and an old codex collated by us. The NNM was first issued in *Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā* (No. 38). The edition³ purports to be based on the oldest manuscript of the poem, copied at Delhi, in *Samvat* 1495 (c. 1438 A. D.), which, by overwhelming consensus, is taken to be its first accredited transcript. The sources of the subsequent edition⁴ of the poem are not known, but they could not have been widely divergent to represent an independent strand of text-tradition. The two editions, however, concur in not utilizing the excellent manuscript of the poem, copied in *Samvat* 1502 at *Maṇḍapa durga*, now deposited in *Mahimā Jñāna Bhandāra*, *Bikaner*⁵. Not always defensible, the text of the BM is by far the most reliable as vouchsafed by the following discussion. Not unoften, it preserves more faithful readings and thus serves to dispel the bewilderment inflicted on the reader by the hopelessly corrupt variants, incorporated in the hitherto editions. To be sure, the text of the NNM is largely settled and does not lend itself to a massive revision. Still,

1. *Bikaner*, 1975.

2. For a detailed account of *Kīrtirāja Upādhyāya* see the present author's forthcoming book '*Jaina Sanskrit Mahākāvya*'.

3. Hereafter referred to as YE.

4. *Vijayadhanacandra Granthamālā* (No. 1) with *Harṣavijaya's Sanskrit Commentary*, *Siyānā* (Marwar), *Samvat* 1992. Hereafter referred to as VE.

5. सम्वत् १५०२ वर्षे श्रीवृहत्खरतरगच्छे श्रीमालवदेशे श्रीमण्डपदुर्गे...गजपति सुश्रावकेण बान्धवपारससहितेन श्रीनेमिजिनेन्द्रचरितं वा लावण्यशीलगणिनिदेशेन हरशेखरगणिपठनाय स्वश्रेयोर्थं लेखितम् ।

Hereafter referred to as BM.

there is a crop of patently questionable readings that call for critical evaluation. This is precisely what is sought to be attempted here.

The graphic description of Sūryapura, 'the quintessence of beauty', which, preliminaries apart, forms the beginning of the poem, is characterised by an allusion to the courtesans of the metropolitan town. They are averred to inflame the passions of the gallant by the seemingly innocuous act of casting on them a mere glance. It hardly needs ingenuity to infer that the two acts could not but have been synchronistic. The reading दृष्ट्वैव घूर्णयन्ति (I. 21), found in YE, suggests an intermission, howsoever short, between the two acts and thereby exposes itself to question. The suffix *ktva* invariably denotes an earlier act to be followed by a subsequent one. The absurdity of the reading is significantly upheld by the BM, which, not unlike the VE, substitutes it by दृष्ट्यैव घूर्णयन्ति. दृष्ट्यैव accords with the instantaneous timing of the two acts and precludes any pause between them. Mere glance of the courtesans was sufficient to arouse the passion of the gallant, *bhujaṅgas*.

The affluence of Samudravijaya, the ruling sovereign of Sūryapura, has been sought to be spotlighted by the figure of speech, *upamā*, in I. 38. The riches are said to have flocked to him from their retreat as the young maidens repair to their husbands from their parental houses. In order to facilitate a better understanding of the context the verse merits reproduction.

यमन्यराजराजेभ्यः प्रतिजग्मुः श्रियोऽखिलाः ।

प्रस्तावे पितृसद्मभ्यो भर्तारमिव कन्यकाः ॥ (I. 38)

The reading यमन्यराजराजेभ्यः, adopted in VE and YE, though apparently blemishless, is shorn of precision and suffers as a subject of comparison, *upameya*. While the retreat of the damsels has been explicitly mentioned, the locale of the riches is at best implied in the aforesaid reading. The scribe of the BM was happily alive to the discrepancy. It is to his alertness that we owe a more accurate reading. He has rightly rejected it in favour of यमन्यराजराज्येभ्यः. The kingdoms of the rival rulers were the original abodes of the riches as were the paternal houses of the maidens. This fine shade of distinction is possible to be drawn with the latter reading only.

I. 46 enumerates certain characteristics which the poet has sought to apply, with the help of paranomasia (*śleṣa*), to both Indra and Samudravijaya. गोप्सुत्वाच्च is one of the attributes that the BM concurs with VE to retain in the text. The reading suffers from lack of aptness and effect. That Samudravijaya was a peer of the lord of the heaven because of his being a 'guard', leaves us cold. The particle च closely following गोप्सुत्वात् not only disturbs the rhythm of the verse but also appears to be redundant. It has been inducted in the verse to respect the scheme of the metre. गोगोप्सुत्वात्, the reading found in YE, in place of गोप्सुत्वाच्च, serves to pinpoint one of the distinctions that both Indra and Samudravijaya share. Samudravijaya was guardian of the earth as Indra was the master of the heaven. गोगोप्सुत्वं along with other characteristics placed the two on equal footing. गोगोप्सुत्वात् has doubtless greater merit to commend itself.

Canto two is distinguished by a charming description of the fourteen traditional dreams, the mother of a *Śalākāpuruṣa* supposedly sees as a prelude to her conceiving. The second verse of the Canto describes the bull, which, in the pen sketch, as drawn by the poet, is noted for its robustness and spotless whiteness. The adjective समुत्कीर्णमिवेन्दुमण्डलम् serves to focus attention on the latter characteristic. But the reading, as it stands in VE and the BM, does not make coherent sense. A carved out moon is a funny proposition. The dice is loaded in favour of समुत्कीर्णमिवेन्दुमण्डलात्, adopted in YE. The bull, on account of its whiteness, appeared to be a mass, as it were, detached from the orb of the moon. An happy idea indeed.

फणीन्द्रचूडामणिमण्डितस्फुटैः (II. 9) is obviously a mistake for °स्फुटैः. The verse in 'question describes the ceremonial jar which Śivādevī, the mother of Neminātha, sees in dream. The jar, decked with green leaves, interspersed with flowers, has been compared with something connected with serpents and embellished with their crest-jewels. That something can naturally be their hoods. This is what स्फुट means. The reservoir of nectar with the hoods of the serpents jetting out all around, forms an appropriate *upamāna* for the jar, as detailed in the verse.

समीप्यते, adopted in YE and VE, in II.27, which spells out the interpretation of the dreams by the astrologers, is decidedly inferior

to समीक्ष्यते, encountered in the BM. While the birth of high personages may be desired (समीक्ष्यते) in any family, it is generally seen (समीक्ष्यते) in noble families alone. समीक्ष्यते seems to imply the birth of the Tirthankara with greater certitude than समीक्ष्यते.

विशकल्पवर्त which occurs in II.47 is by far the most outrageous reading in the text of the poem. The reading was first admitted in YE and has been reproduced in the subsequent edition, with incredible smugness. The commentator Harṣavijaya has compounded the absurdity with his breath-takingly naive gloss. नालदण्डसदृशवृत्तिम् is the interpretation that he expects the reader to swallow. Little did the uncanny commentator realise the import of his gloss. What precisely is the behaviour of the lotus-stalk and how, of all creatures, the swans ape it, passes comprehension. It should not have been difficult for a person of Harṣavijaya's equipment to detect the minor error in the phrase. But he has not only slavishly accepted the reading, as it was handed down to him, but has also made nonsense of the text by his interpretation which befittingly illustrates the dictum : अन्धेन नीयमाना ययान्धाः ! The simple fact is that the letter *pa* has been read erroneously in place of the original, which could not but have been *ya*. And विशकल्पवर्त is actually what is preserved in the BM. With this reading the verse yields the intended sense. The swans, at day-break, enjoy themselves with the breakfast of lotus-stalks. आमोदवत्कोकनदव्रजानां कुर्वन्ति यस्मिन् विशकल्पवर्तम् (II. 47). It is in keeping with the nature of the swans and the context in which the verse is placed.

The BM is again instrumental in dispelling the mist of confusion caused by a hopeless reading in III. 8. The phrase तुषारभूषांशुकभूषितांगः that uniformly occurs in the earlier editions is meaningless, at worst, and is tarnished by tautology, at best. Harṣavijaya's interpretation तुषारवदुज्ज्वलानि भूषा चांशुकानि च यस्य सः stems from a lack of understanding of the text. The validity of the reading should hinge on the distinction whether the अंशुक is a part of the raiment or not. To be sure अंशुक is not an inconsequential appendage to the royal attire, it itself being a complete robe. As a matter of fact, this distinction too is not intended to be stressed here. It is the spotlessness of Samudravijaya's silken attire (अंशुक) that is sought to be underscored. As such it need an adjective which may render it comparable to snow.

The reading in BM precisely does that. तुषारचोक्षांशुकभूषितांगः dispenses with avoidable repetition and performs the function it is intended to serve. Samudravijaya's silken dress, as he occupied the royal seat in the assembly-hall, was immaculate and glittering like a slab of snow.

The next verse of the canto describes the monarch attended upon by his ministers, in the royal assembly, with the figure of speech, *malopamā*. Samudravijaya shone forth with his ministers like the autumnal moon, surrounded by stars and the heavenly tree encircled by the mango-grooves. The abstruseness of the third *upamāna* evidently emanates from an absurd reading. स्वयूयनाथैरिव यूयनाथः, adopted in YE and VE, baffles attempts at coherent interpretation. As indicated by the other two *upamānas*, the counterparts of the ministers (stars and mango-grooves) were inferior to the compeers of the king. It could not have been otherwise in the third. The reading स्वयूयनाथैरिव यूयनाथः, besides its patent meaninglessness puts both the monarch and his ministers on an equal footing and thus seeks to detract from the majesty of the king. It should therefore be replaced by स्वयूयनाथैरिव यूयनाथः, found in the BM. It obviates the obvious anomaly and harmonises with the other two *upamānas* in the verse.

The reading कृतज्ञैः in the first hemistich of III. 29 also presents difficulty. The verse purports to refer to the interpretation of the dreams, which, Samudravijaya fondly communicates to his consort, Śivādevī. The adjective कृतज्ञैः used with reference to the astrologers is off the mark. While the astrologers might have had a plethora of reasons to feel beholden to the monarch, it is their knowledge of astrology rather than their gratefulness to the king that should be expected to be alluded in the context. The belief is happily strengthened by the BM which has स्वप्नार्थमर्घ्यं कथितं च तज्ज्ञैः in place of 'कृतज्ञैः', found both in YE and VE.

Canto five begins with an expression of Indra's wrath at the sudden shaking of his royal seat that serves to reduce him to the miserable position of a lowly swan perched on an oscillating lotus. प्रस्फोटयामास करावितस्ततः (V. 4) leaves much to be desired because of the inappropriateness of प्रस्फोटयामास in the context. As indicated by their conception as 'large leaves of the tree of Wrath' (क्रोधद्रुमस्योत्पलपल्लवाविव), Indra violently agitated his hands in the fit of anger. He could not

have used them to strike some one. प्रस्फोरयामास करावितस्ततः is the apt reading found in BM and YE. It is indeed interesting that while the commentator has given the correct rendering (चालयामास), he has retained the indefensible reading.

Verse 34 of the same canto, which means to initiate the description of the mount Meru, is susceptible to quite a sizable revision. The reading प्रभाकर in the first hemistich is ridiculous. How the sun can originate in precious stones defies comprehension (अनर्घ्यरत्नप्रकर-प्रसर्पत्प्रभाकरद्वस्ततमःप्रतानः V. 34). The commentator's rendering of the hemistich as अनर्घ्याण्यमूल्यानि च तानि रत्नानि तेषां प्रकरः समूहश्च, प्रसर्पत्प्रभासी प्रभाकरः is muddled, to say the least. It is wholly indefensible to detach the present participle प्रसर्पत् from अनर्घ्यरत्नप्रकर. It seems to have been prompted by the commentator's desire to extort something howsoever unworthy, from an absurd phrase. The YE shares this howler with VE. The BM throws up the appropriate variant when it substitutes 'प्रभाकर with 'प्रभाभर. 'Meru shattered the density of darkness with the mass of lustre, issuing from its exquisite gems.

It is again to the BM that we owe the correct substitute to जाम्बूनददृष्टकायः, of the same verse. Harṣavijaya's gloss जाम्बूनदवत्कार्तस्वरवद् दृष्टः कायः शरीरं यस्य सः is repugnant like the text. It does not need much cerebration to suggest that the verse herein has an allusion to the mythological belief that Meru is made of gold. This is what the reading जाम्बूनददृष्टकायः, preserved in BM, means. सुवर्णवर्चितकायः, as the marginal note puts it.

The adjective कोविदनन्दनन्दनम् (V. 40), applied to the jungle on Meru, both in YE and VE, is intriguing. The absurdity evidently proceeds from the corrupt text. Meru, for once, may be credited with the fabulous forest *Nandana* but how it regales the connoisseurs is not understandable. कोविद is obviously out of joint here. It is heartening to find the BM replace it by चन्दननन्दनन्दनम्. The *Nandana* forest maddened the people with the odour of its sandal-wood trees. The gloss in the margin—चन्दनैर्नन्दयतीति चन्दननन्दं तच्च तन्नन्दनं च वनम्—is faultless.

सुधादीधितिमण्डलास्थाः in VI. 7. could have been conveniently dismissed as a petty error but for the confusion occasioned by the

commentator's rendering. सुधाया दीधितयस्तासां मण्डल आस्था स्थितिर्येषां ते कुम्भाः—is how Harṣavijaya explains the phrase. Going by his comment, one cannot escape the conclusion that the jars, held by the deities in their hands (वृन्दारकाणां... करेषु कुम्भाः सुधादीधितिमण्डलास्थाः—VI. 7), were set in the rays of the moon. A curious situation indeed ? It is simply beyond reason, how the commentator came to believe that the jars could be held simultaneously by the gods and the rays of the heavenly luminary. And is it at all a function of the rays to carry pitchers, howsoever sacred the occasion ? The *upamāna* (राजहंसाः) leaves little doubt that it is not the situation of the jars but their whiteness that is meant to be driven home in the aforesaid phrase. The BM steps in to provide the reading, desired here—सुधादीधितिमण्डलाच्छाः .

VIII. 11 pointedly refers to the uniqueness of Nemi's tranquility. He was endowed with all that tends to lead one astray but never for once did he swerve from the righteous path. Besides youth, riches and beauty, it is power that is traditionally believed to intoxicate a young man. प्रभुताद्भुता accords with the context. परमाद्भुता that the BM and VE substitute for it, has no relevance and should be discarded without reservation.

Canto eight is characterised by a brilliant description of the six Indian seasons. The spring undoubtedly prompts the young folk to gay abandon. ललनदोलनयोर्ग्रहजं सुखम् (VIII. 28), found in VE, suffers from the demerit of omitting the object of their enjoyment. The damsels enjoyed clasping in sports and on the swing, but what precisely did they clasp, is an enigma, so far as the present reading is concerned. The commentator too is not helpful in resolving the tangle. The credit of dispelling the ambiguity goes to the BM which has ललनदोलनदोर्ग्रहजं सुखम्. The maidens enjoyed the comforting touch of the arms of their lovers in the course of sports and swinging. The validity of the latter reading is meaningfully confirmed by the YE.

जलदात्यये, though apparently a mistake for जलदात्ययः, is found both in YE and VE. When it is remembered that the autumn and not the white clouds is intended to be alluded here, one can hardly miss the error. The functions assigned to the autumnal clouds in the verse actually belong to the autumn itself. And that clinches the

issue in favour of जलदात्ययः, incorporated in the BM. Autumn with its proverbial white clouds came to attend upon the Lord. सुखयितुं किल नाथमुपागतो धवलरुज्जलदो जलदात्ययः (VIII. 40).

That the winter tames turbulent rivers and impassioned peacocks alike is emphasised in VIII. 45 by an *arthāntaranyāsa*. दर्पघनच्युतिः in the second hemistich (गतवतीष्टजने बलपुष्टिदे भवति कस्य न दर्पघनच्युतिः) is open to question. The commentator's attempt to reconcile the reading is also not convincing. So is the untenability of the printed editions in retaining it. Hauteur cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be compared with cloud. Moreover loss of one's kinsman does not result in obliterating the cloud. It certainly causes dissipation of one's equipment not precluding many a human quality. The BM rightly compares *darpa* with *dhana* and thus provides the correct reading, दर्पघनच्युतिः .

The deities greet the Lord with an ode of eulogy, on his revulsion at the proposed massacre of hapless animals for the table of the marriage-party and his consequent taking to the path of renunciation. As the description भास्करकायकान्तिप्रद्योतिताशेषहरिद्विभागैः (X. 38) would imply, they used the sun to illuminate the quarters. It is difficult to understand how could they subject the heavenly luminary to their command and bid it dispel the darkness while it must have been engaged, on its own, in performing the function. The absurdity of the situation proceeds from the reading भास्करकायकान्तिः which has no *locus standi* in the context. However, the difficulty is obviated by YE when it replaces भास्कर by भास्वर. भास्वरकायकान्तिः is the only reading that suits the description. The deities, as they descended upon earth, served to brighten the quarters with their refulgent persons.

The description of the lowly sugarcane *en route* to Ujjayant, the famed mount, apparently a banality, is intended to set forth the poet's views on the place of *alamkāras* in poetry. The editors of YE and VE demonstrate a miserable lack of perception in opting for अघरस्तथापि च तवाधरादसावपि भूषणाद् भवति नीरसो यतः (XII. 10) as the second hemistich. As it stands, it means—'Despite its inherent virtues the sugarcane is no match to the sweetness of your lower lip because one

suffers even by embellishment'—It is hardly convincing. The syllable *pi* is responsible for ruining what otherwise is a crisp dictum. When replaced by *ti* the verse has its validity restored with telling effect. अतिभूषणाद् भवति नीरसो यतः is what is intended by the poet and is actually found in the BM. Excessive ornamentation melts against sentiment, the soul of poetry.

शंकिनूपुराः, used in त्रिजगद्गुरोः सदसि शंकिनूपुराः प्रविशन्ति पद्मि ! सुरनायिका अप्मूः (XII. 15) as an adjective to सुरनायिकाः, should have not caused difficulty in straightening the anomaly, so perceptible in the reading. The commentator makes nonsense of the verse by interpreting the phrase as शंकिताः मंजीराः यासां ताः. He does not seem to realise that such gimmicks only expose him to ridicule. The alert scribe of the BM hits the mark when he replaces this monstrosity by संजिनूपुराः. The heavenly nymphs had their anklets tinkling, as they entered the assembly of the Lord.

Mādhava is an embodiment of modesty and devotion while circumbulating Neminātha, as a token of his regard for him. Despite that, the editors have the temerity to retain here (XII. 24) a phrase that abhors propriety and offends the context. विनयभक्तिमानदः implies Mādhava's majesty rather than his humility. One who is powerful enough to evoke reverence can only be a person of manifold attainments, whereas it is humility that Kṛṣṇa oozes in his deferential behaviour to the Lord. विनयभक्तिमानदः is thus a square peg in the round hole. And the BM actually replaces it by विनयभक्तिवामनः. Mādhava was humble with modesty and devotion as he lay at Nemi's feet.

There are certain readings, which, though uniformly sanctioned by all the editions and manuscripts of the poem, scarcely satisfy the perceptive reader. The first of these वयः पावनयौवनं वयः (II. 24) concerns itself, with the likely virtues of the prospective son, to be born to Śivādevī. To be sure, the phrase forms part of the second hemistich, intended as an *upamāna* in the verse. Samudravijaya is convinced that the son will sanctify the Yadu race as youth adorns age. It hardly makes any sense. How, as it is implicit in the reading, a part of age

can lend charm to the whole. We feel वयःपावनयौवनं वयः should be emended to वपुःपावनयौवनं वयः. The son will add grace to the Yadavas as youth embellishes the body.

गर्दभस्थगणोपमः (IX. 15) is the adjective applied to the youthful Nemi, who resists all temptations, held out by Kṛṣṇa's wives to prompt him into marital life, which he detests as an obstacle in realising the Self. They are at pains to convince him that lovely damsels form the quintessence of life. He who despises them is an ass. It seems to be the sense intended here. The reading, however, is not liable to such an interpretation. °गणोपमः, we think, is a mistake for °गुणोपमः which somehow continued to evade the scribes and editors alike. 'He who hates the pretty maidens is comparable to the traits of an ass.' This is perfectly what is expected in the context.

ब्रह्मभिदाग्रचयष्टिभिः (XI. 81) occurs in the description of the allegorical fight between the forces of Restraint and Delusion. The cohorts of Restraint ultimately overpower Delusion and break the heads (*brahmarandhras*) of his soldiers with strong sticks. Now, ब्रह्मभिदाग्रचयष्टिभिः is a compound, wherein retention of earlier members in their original cases, exceptions apart, is a taboo. ब्रह्मभिदा, the instrumental singular, is offensive in the compound. The requirements of grammar will be met if the instrumental is restored to its uninflected base. ब्रह्मभिदग्रचयष्टिभिः satisfies the grammatical rules without infringing the metre.

KAPPHIṆĀBHYUDAYA AND ITS TEXT

GAURI SHANKAR

This epic poem was written by poet Śivasvāmin who was one of the 'gems' of King Avantivarman's court who reigned over Kashmir (c. 855-883 A.D.) as mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī* (V. 39) :

मुक्ताकणः शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धनः ।
प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात् साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मणः ॥

"Muktākāṇa Śivasvāmin the poet Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara became famous during the reign of King Avantivarman."

Śivasvāmin was a prolific writer, but from his works only the epic poem *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* has come down to us as also some quotations from his works cited in anthologies. The theme of this epic poem in 20 cantos is a simple Buddhist story as related in one of the *Avadānas*. But the poet has succeeded in producing a highly ornate and complete *Mahākavyā* on its basis as laid down in the tenets of poetics defined in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaadarśa* (I, 14-19).

The story treats of King Kapphiṇa whose figure appears in stone in Borobudur, the great temple of Bhagavān Buddha in Java. He is known as one of the chief disciples (महाश्रावकाः) and contemporary of Buddha. He was converted to Buddhist faith after his invasion of Śrāvastī, then ruled by Prasenajit, a historical figure. This episode compares favourably with that of Ashoka who turned a Buddhist after the battle of Kalinga. The dreadful battle is described by Śivasvāmin in canto XVIII of his epic poem *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* in which Prasenajit's army is routed, who prays to Buddha for help. Buddha appears on the scene and by means of a miracle overpowers Kapphiṇa who pays homage to Lord Buddha and listens to His Sermon of Peace. This is the subject

matter of cantos XIX and XX where the poem ends with the poet's account of himself (ग्रन्थकर्तुः प्रशस्तिः).

The present writer has had the privilege to bring out the first critical edition (500 copies) of this Buddhist epic Kapphiṇābhyudaya, 'Exaltation of King Kapphiṇa' which was published in 1937 by the Panjab University, Lahore, in its Oriental publication Series No. 26. It was based on the two manuscripts one from Madras Government oriental manuscripts library in Uṛiyā script and the other from Rajguru, Nepal Pandit Shri Hemraj's library in Nēwarī script. It seems very much surprising that no manuscript of this important Buddhist epic has so far been discovered in the land of its birth, the valley of Kashmir.

The first edition as prepared by myself contains critically edited text with an introduction in English and Sanskrit giving the sources of the poem, its importance with an analysis of the subject matter, its author and his contemporary Ratnākara the writer of Haravijaya and his predecessor Māgha and his treatment of Buddhist thought as prevailing in Kashmir in the 9th century A.D. Its volume covered lxxxviii+viii+165+xviii pages ($5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$) including introduction, text and appendix respectively. It was very well printed on a nice paper, a university publication as it was.

The reader thus will realise the importance of this epic not only as a *Mahākāvya* of great beauty, but also as a contribution to Sanskrit Buddhist Literature especially XIX and XX cantos. The prominence of this poem lies in the fact that unlike other *Mahākāvyas* which are based on the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas he has taken the theme from a Buddhist Avadāna as his preceptor was Chandramitra whom he calls Bhikṣvācāryaḥ (भिक्षवाचार्यः). This fact led our poet to depart from the routine of writing *Mahākāvyas* on the lines set by writers on poetics and he undertook to compose a poem on a Buddhist Hero King Kapphiṇa who seems to belong to Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Reader's attention is specially invited to canto XIX which is in praise of Lord Buddha. Śivasvāmin was equally at home in Sanskrit and Prakrit. He was a Sanskrit poet at his best a rhetoricean a grammarian and a master of *alamkaras* and adept in

the use of *yamaka*, *anuprāsa* and *citrakāvya*. Canto XIX has its uniqueness in that it can be read both as Sanskrit as well as Prakrit. Such was Śivasvāmin's ingenuous literary skill and a high ranked mastery of both Sanskrit and Prakrit from the point of view of their literary and grammatical structure. This canto is named

संस्कृतप्राकृतभाषासमावेशेन संबुद्धाभिष्टवो नामैकोनविंशः सर्गः ,
as given in its colophon.

Both the manuscripts of Kapphiṇābhyudaya from Madras and Nepal so far known and on the basis of which the first edition of the epic was prepared by the present writer, contained no commentary either from the pen of its author Śivasvāmin or any other scholar. The present writer prepared a Sanskrit *Chaya* of canto XIX which was the first attempt of rendering this canto in Sanskrit and it was printed as a footnote to the original Prakrit stanzas which number 45. So much is the account of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya, a great Buddhist epic poem of Kashmir of 9th century as it appeared in print in 1937 at Lahore (now in Pakistan) under the auspices of Panjab University.

Now comes the question why the desideratum for a revised edition of this epic poem. The present author of its first critical edition has to offer the reasons in answer as follows :—

- a) Forty years have lapsed since the first edition was published in 500 copies only in Lahore. These must have been exhausted by now with the partition of the country, must have been lost in the holocaust and arsenal.
- b) During these forty years research and studies in Sanskrit have made great strides and new material which was not known before 1937 regarding this book has come to light. For instance, the Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa of Vidyākara published in 1956 as No. 42 of the Harvard University Oriental publication Series (H. O. S.) contains seven more quotations from Śivasvāmin's Kapphiṇābhyudaya which should be added to the list of testimonia as given on page XXI of the introduction to the existing 1937 edition of this book. The H.O.S. (42) mentions that a fragment of the Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa an anthology of Vidyākara was published by F. W. Thomas under the wrongly conjectured

title of Kavīndravacanasamuccaya in Bibliotheca Indica, New series No. 1309 and these seven stanzas are not found therein as attributed to Śivasvāmin in H. O. S. (42). The manuscript used by F. W. Thomas was itself fragmentary and the leaf giving the title of the anthology was missing as the ms. was incomplete. A conjectured title was given therefore. These seven quotations, therefore, are to be added in the revised edition viz. :

No. 607 of Subhāṣitaratnaḥ	कलहकलया०	XIV. 10 of Kapphiṇa
No. 608	रतिपति०	XIV. 19 „
No. 609	युगलमगलत्तर्ष०	XIV. 24 „
No. 610	दशनदशनैः०	XIV. 28 „
No. 836	अनुमतमिव०	XIV. 3 „
No. 975	लब्ध्वा बोधं०	XV. 10 „
No. 977	ग्रामृद्नन्तः	XV. 37 „

- c) These quotations add more importance and popularity to our poet Śivasvāmin. More testimonia might have been discovered by now or may be discovered with the advancement of research and search for manuscripts. A revised edition would be an incentive for posterity to add more to the Śivasvāmin's work and who was a prolific writer. For instance, Bhartṛmēṭha and Muktaḥa might throw more light on Śivasvāmin's art of poetry if their work are discovered. Śivasvāmin's account of himself is very emphatic on this point when he says :

अनुकृतरघुकारोऽभ्यस्तमेण्ठप्रचारो

जयति कविरुदारो दण्डिदण्डः शिवाङ्कः ।

(Kapphiṇa XX. 47)

Kṣemendra has collected many Avadāna stories in his Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā. May be that Śivasvāmin's Sandānācayanikā might be forthcoming as the study of Kapphiṇābhyudaya creates interest among searchers of mss. If the revised edition is not published the book itself will become a manuscript and extinct, Śivasvāmin says :

विदितबहुकथार्थश्चित्तकाव्योपदेष्टा

यमककविरगम्यश्चारुसन्दातभाषी ।

(Kapphiṇa XX. 47)

As the interest in Śivasvāmin is created by the revised edition the anonymous verse given in Bhandarkar's report 1897 may come to be true with the search of more manuscripts of Śivasvāmin's works, viz.

वाक्यानि द्विपदीयुतान्यथ महाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमात्
 व्यक्षप्रत्यहनिर्मितस्तुतिकथालक्षाणि चैकादश ।
 कृत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान् प्रबन्धान् बहून्
 विश्रामत्यधुनापि नातिशयिता वाणी शिवस्वामिनः ॥

(Kapphiṇa. Introduction XLVI)

This shows that Śivasvāmin was a Śaiva and he wrote this epic Buddhist poem under the inspiration of his preceptor Chandra-mitra whose religion was Buddhism and was preceptor of Bhikṣus. In Kashmir as in India Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism flourished side by side. There was no antagonism. These were the days of Śāṅkarācārya and his philosophy. These were only ways of life or views of life as the word *darśana* means philosophy viz. योगदर्शन, सांख्यदर्शन and similarly बौद्धदर्शन । More Śivasvāmin's works may be found in the collections in Vihāras and Maṭhas and Saṅgrahālayas of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples or even in Tibetan and Chinese Monasteries like those of Aśvaghoṣa whose original बुद्धचरित was lost in India but found in foreign lands (See Johnston's edition of Buddhacarita). With the spread and study of Kapphiṇābhyudaya's second (revised) edition some readers, students and scholars may be tempted to lead a search of more books in manuscript form written by Śivasvāmin.

Indeed, Śivasvāmin was a great poet—a poet laureate of Avantivarman's court. Kalhaṇa did not forget him in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī along with Ratnākara and Muktākāṇa. Paucity of manuscript material of this epic poem has been a great handicap in editing the text. Another setback in elucidating and interpreting canto XIX was the lack of any commentary on the whole book. As a matter of fact, almost every important classic in Sanskrit has a commentary or exegesis. Shri Śāṅkarācārya was a great commentator of Upaniṣads and Sayana was of the Vedas (Even Yāska's Nirukta was commented upon). Mallinātha commented upon the famous Sanskrit *Mahākavyas*. But unfortunately the first epic poem of the Kashmir valley was left uncommented even though the author was a well known poet of great name and fame and his epic was

unique. Lacunae left in the various stanzas in the edited text are due to the missing letters in the two manuscripts which are the basis of the text. These can be ascribed to scribal lapses and errors due sometimes to illiteracy of scribes in copying the manuscripts. The most correct manuscript must be the one written by Śivasvāmin in the Śārada temple of Kashmir but that is not so far discovered. Uṛiya and Nēwārī have their own scribal peculiarities in which this poem has come down to us.

The most difficult canto to be edited was canto XIX which can be read both as Sanskrit and Prakrit. The author of this paper while editing it and providing a Sanskrit *chaya*, i.e. Sanskrit version of the same at the foot of each page has found many difficulties. He himself is not satisfied with his performance regarding its editing and constructing its Sanskrit version. He feels that this rendering should be taken afresh and the *chaya* produced by him should be considered as if it were not there. He admits the shortcomings in this behalf and some one gifted with higher talents and learning in Sanskrit and Prakrit and deeper insight into Buddhist thought of 9th century in Kashmir may take this task and do more justice to Prakrit and Sanskrit and Buddhist thought contained in this canto (XIX) dedicated to the praise of Buddha. There is no dearth of scholarship but everyone does not know everything. He has done his best but someone else may do still better for कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी । There is no limit to time and space.

d) The last but not the least reason for a revised edition of this valuable work of Śivasvāmin is to provide it with a Sanskrit commentary. Its translation either into English or Hindi will be most welcome. In these days of commercial civilization and technological culture people have little time to read original in Sanskrit. Let them have an opportunity to read Śivasvāmin in translation. That would be a great service to create a bridge for thoughts of Śivasvāmin to be earned from 9th century to 20th century via media Hindi or English.

(e) The importance of Kapphīṇabhyudaya cannot be gain-said with regard to Buddhism. Through Buddhist thought its contact with the Buddhist world ancient and modern can be well established by a study of Buddhism in Kashmir, and rest of India, Tibet, China, Indonesia, Mongolia and Ceylon of 9th century.

Besides, the music of Śivasvāmin has its own charm and elegance. In his own words it works magic in the listeners of his poetic voice :

यद्वाणीश्रुतिमात्रकेण सुधियां चेतश्चमत्कारिणी

(Kapphiṇa XX. 46)

May the poesy of Śivasvāmin enlighten on the path of Truth. He explains :

मध्ये काश्मीरं शुद्धिमाह्लादकत्वं

प्राप्तात् प्रालेयस्पर्धयेवाथ वृद्धिम् ।

काव्यात्क्लृप्तोऽस्मात् कल्पतां पुण्यराशिः

प्राणिप्राणानां प्रीणनश्रीः शिवाय ॥

(Kapphiṇa XX. 45)

In view of the above, a, b, c, d and e paragraphs the desideratum of a revised edition of Kapphiṇābhyudaya becomes quite evident for the benefit of students, and scholars interested in Sanskrit literature and Buddhist thoughts.

THE GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE UPAPADAS

(*upapadas* ; *saha*, *vinā*, *namaḥ*, etc.)

V. M. BHATT

Pāṇini has divided all *padas* into two groups : *subanta* and *tiṇanta*. Of these, all the terms denoting (a) nouns, (b) adjectives, (c) pronouns, (d) derivatives like *taddhita* and *kṛdanta*, (e) compounds, as well as those (f) *padas* (the *nipātas*) which must be inflected with reference to the case endings but which inflections have again to be removed, are all brought under the group *subanta*. Pāṇini has listed such *padas* (f), i.e. *nipātas* in three groups : *cādi* (1.4.57), *pradi* (1.4.58) and *svaradi* (1.1.37).

Depending upon their use in the sentences, the traditional grammar divides the *nipātas* into three categories : (i) *upasarga* and *gati* (prefix), (ii) *karmapravacanīya* (postposition) and (iii) *avyaya* (indeclinable).

It must be noted, in this context that, both, Bhartṛhari and Yāska have something to say about these groups. Bhartṛhari has discussed the grammatical functions of the prefixes (*upasargas*) and the post-positionals (*karmapravacanīyas*) of the *pradi* category¹. He has also discussed the grammatical functions of some of the *nipātas* of the other two categories².

1. (i) उपसर्ग :

स वाचको विशेषाणां सम्भवाद् द्योतकोऽपि वा ।

शक्त्याधानाय धातोर्वा सहकारी प्रयुज्यते ॥

(VP. II, 188)

(ii) कर्मप्रवचनीय :

क्रियाया द्योतको नायं सम्बन्धस्य न वाचकः ।

नापि क्रियापदाक्षेपी सम्बन्धस्य तु भेदकः ॥

(VP. II, 204)

2. निपाता द्योतकाः केचित्पृथगर्थभिधायिनः ।

आगमा इव केऽपि स्युः सम्भूयार्थस्य वाचकाः ॥

(VP. II, 192)

Yaska's categorization of the *nipātas* differs from the one offered by Pāṇini. He divides them semantically into three groups: *upamāṛthaka*, i.e. those denoting the similes; *karmopasaṅgraha rthaka*, i.e. those denoting conjunctions; and *padapūraṇārthaka*, i.e. those that are merely gap-fillers³.

It would seem, no discussion, has been offered as yet, of some of the *nipātas* that are described traditionally as the ones leading to the case-inflections, commonly known as the *upapadas*, e.g. *saha*, *vina*, *ṛte*, *namaḥ* etc. Pāṇini, in this context, has only confined himself to the giving of the rules of syntax⁴. He too is silent on the grammatical functions of such *nipātas*.

A closer look at these *upapadas* makes it possible, as is shown here, to arrive at some conclusions regarding their functions and behaviour. A statement about any action must first indicate the participants/doers of action, e.g. [*Rāmaḥ kaṣṭhaiḥ taṇḍulaṁ*] *pacati*. and then indicate their relationships with the world: [*Daśarathasya Rāmaḥ*,] [*vrkṣasya kaṣṭhaiḥ*,] [*guroḥ taṇḍulaṁ*,] *pacati*. The statement might also include a mentioning of time and place: [*adya*] [*sthalayāṁ*] *Rāmaḥ kaṣṭhaiḥ taṇḍulaṁ pacati*. In some cases the statement would extend to the context/situation from the point/s of view of doer/action. For the indication of this last, terms like सह, विना, ऋते, नमः etc. are used.

3. i) तेषामेते (इव, न, चित्, नु) चस्वार उपमार्थे भवन्ति ।

... अग्निरिव । इन्द्र इव ॥ I. 4.

ii) अथ यस्यागमादर्थपृथक्त्वमहं विज्ञायते ... स कर्मोपसङ्ग्रहः । (तद्यथा) चेति समुच्चयार्थ उभाभ्यां संप्रयुज्यते ॥ अहं च त्वं च वृत्तहन्ति । ... वेति विचारणार्थे 'हन्ताहं पृथिवीमिमां नि दधानीह वेह वेति' ॥ I. 4.

iii) अथापि पदपूरणः । इदमु । तदु । I. 5. । अथ ये प्रवृत्तेऽर्थेऽमिताक्षरेषु ग्रन्थेषु वाक्यपूरणा आगच्छन्ति पदपूरणास्ते मिताक्षरेषु अनर्थकाः । कम् ईम् इद् उ इति ॥ I. 9.

4. i) अन्तरान्तरेण युक्ते । २. ३. ४ ; ii) नमः स्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधा० । २. ३. १६ ; iii) सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने । २. ३. १९ ; iv) अन्यारादितर-त्तेदिकृशब्दाञ्चू० । २. ३. २९ ; v) पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीया० । २. ३. ३२ ; vi) यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् । २. ३. ३७ ।

An analysis of the following sentence will help to understand the interplay of the different components : *adya sthalyam Lakṣmaṇena saha Daśarathasya (putraḥ) [caturaḥ [Rāmaḥ]] kaṣṭhaiḥ taṇḍulan pacati. sahayukte 'pradhane* (2.3.19) governs the suffix (*ṭa*) attached to Lakṣmaṇa.

Apparently, this does not indicate the sense of an "instrument" : the use of the case-suffix is either conventional, or as, *śabdāsādhutva-prayojikā vibhakti*⁵. The sense of accompaniment is due to the use of the *upapada* like *saha*.

The statement thus indicates Rāma's being accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa for the purpose of this specific action of cooking. The phrase, *Lakṣmaṇena saha* merely adds to the noun Rāma—just as *caturaḥ* or *Daśarathasya* add to the meaning of the same noun. All three additions—*Daśarathasya*, *caturaḥ* and *Lakṣmaṇena saha*—illuminate Rāma, the performer of the action of cooking. The phrase, *Lakṣmaṇena saha*, performs the function of an adjective, a part of which, i.e. *saha*, indicates only the fact of accompaniment. Indeed, the *upapada*, *saha* wherever and whenever it occurs, it should be concluded, indicates only the fact of accompaniment.

It would be interesting to investigate the syntactic implications—in contradistinction to the semantic implications explored above—of *saha*. In the statements *Rāmaḥ Lakṣmaṇasca gacchataḥ* and *Rāmaḥ Lakṣmaṇena saha gacchati*; the former implies two doers of the same action both equally focussed, while the latter, focusses on *Rāmaḥ*, indicating Lakṣmaṇa as merely one who accompanies the main doer of the action. This latter statement establishes a hierarchical relationship between the two doers of the same action.

Indeed Pāṇini's term *apradhāna* in his aphorism *sahayukte 'pradhāne* (2.3.19) clearly implies hierarchy in such situations. The use of the more recent term, 'defocussing' appears to be less adequate as the phrase *Lakṣmaṇena saha* does not detract from *Rāmaḥ*; in fact, the phrase reinforces the attention on the main doer. It must, however be conceded that though philosophically, and syntactically, the statement establishes hierarchy, there may also be a case for defocussing from a psychological standpoint. In any case *saha*

5. न केवला प्रकृतिः प्रयोक्तव्या, नापि केवलः प्रत्ययः ॥

in conjunction with a co-doer of action in such statements appears to be adjectival semantically and hierarchical philosophically.

vinā is another *upapada* similar in behaviour to *saha*. The use of *vinā* in *adya... Bharatam|Bharatena|Bharatāt vinā Daśarathasya (putrah) caturah Rāmaḥ vanam gacchati*, makes for some finer implications.

It means that which was expected—the accompaniment of Bharata—could not be brought about. Even so, the conclusions reached in case of *saha*, would also seem to apply to *vinā* too.

In addition to the functions of *saha* and *vinā* investigated above, it would be interesting to investigate also the use of *sati-saptamī* (*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam* 2.3.37) designated as *upapada* by Patañjali⁶.

In the statement *goṣu duhyamānasu Rāmaḥ gataḥ ; goṣu duhyamānasu* contextualizes the situation of the exit of *Ramaḥ*, whereas the *upapada*, *udayati savitari* in the statement *udayati savitari tamo naṣṭam* contextualizes the time of the lifting of darkness. In either case, it can be seen, the *upapadas* formed by the use of *sati-saptamī* (2.3.37) semantically add to basic statement about action itself—*gataḥ* and *naṣṭam*—, the same way as the *upapadas* *saha* and *vinā* add to the basic statement regarding the doer of the action.

Lastly a mention must also be made of those *upapadas*—*namaḥ*, *svasti*, *svāha*, *svadhā*, *alam* and *vaṣaṭ* that take upon themselves the function of a verb, in the absence of a *tiṅanta pada*. In the statements *Gaṇeśāya namaḥ*, *Sitāyai svasti*, *Indraya svāha* etc. the *upapadas* *namaḥ*, *svasti*, *svāha* etc. function as verbs.

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6. (i) अत एव 'यस्य च भावेन०' (२. ३. ३७) इति सप्तम्यपेक्षयाधिकरण-सप्तम्या बलवत्त्वमनेन न्यायेन 'तत्र च दीयते' (५. १. ९६) इति सूत्रे भाष्ये ध्वनितं, कैयटेन स्पष्टमुक्तम् ॥ —परिभाषेन्दुशेखरः—१४.

- (ii) मासे दीयते इति नैषाडधिकरणसप्तमी । किं तर्हि ? 'यस्य च भावेन०' इति । 'तत्र भवः' इत्यत्र चाधिकरणसप्तमी आश्रिता, 'उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसी' इति न्यायात् । ५. १. ९६ इत्यत्र कैयटः ।

In support, attention may be drawn to the fact that *Nageśa* has already noted the presence of the concept of action (*kriyātva*) in *upapadas* like *namaḥ*⁷.

To conclude, it is possible to go beyond the traditional attitude to the *upapadas*, which limits itself to the formation of the syntactic rules only, and say that, the *upapadas* like *saha* and *vinā* add to the basic statement regarding the doer of action ; the *sati saptamyanta upapadas* add to the basic statement about the action itself, and that the *upapadas* like *namaḥ*, *svastī*, *svahā*, *svadhā*, *alam* and *vaṣaṭ* take upon themselves the function of a verb.

Note :—This paper was read at All India Oriental Conference, 31st Session, Oct. 1982, Univ. of Rajasthan, Jaipur:

[How it is that *udayati savitari tamo naṣṭam* exhibits no case of free morphemes of the adverbial nature like *saha*, *vinā*, *namaḥ*, *ṛte* etc. and still it is instanced by you? —Editor

"My paper concentrates on two types of *upapadas* (i) the free morphemes of adverbial nature and (ii) those that are used in the *bhāva saptamī* (= *sati saptamī*), where the use of the seventh case is governed by Pāṇini 2.3.37 (*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam*).

The *padas* (terms) *udayati savitari* jointly and severally function as *upapadas*. cf. my foot note No. 6". —The Author]

7. अत च नमः पदार्थस्यापि क्रियात्वं, मुण्डयती मुण्डस्य इव ॥

—परिभाषेन्दुशेखरः—९४.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KĀNGARĪ AND PAÑJĀBĪ LINGUISTICS

MADHU BALA

The Kāngarī dialect is spoken in the Kangra Valley of Himachal Pradesh. As per 1971 census it is spoken by 8,00,863 people. Before 1st November, 1966 Kangra was situated in the state of Punjab, later on it was merged with the state of Himachal Pradesh.

Pahārī Languages are divided into three groups :

1. Western Pahārī.
2. Central Pahārī.
3. Eastern Pahārī.

Western Pahārī dialects are spoken in parts of sub-Himalayas extending from Jaunsar-Bawar tract to Bhadrawah in the Northern Punjab. Kāngarī dialect comes under this group.

Central Pahārī group lies the east of Western Pahārī group, in which different dialects of Garhāvālī are spoken.

To the north of Central Pahārī group lies the mid-Himalayas in which the Tibeto-Burman language is spoken by a few inhabitants that comprises the Eastern Pahārī group.

The Kangra district is situated in the South-west of Hoshiarpur bounded by Chamba on the north, Mandi and Hamirpur on the south-east, to its west is the north-west corner of Gurdaspur. The language of Mandi is Maṇḍēālī, spoken in the west of Suket and over the whole of Mandi. The language of Hoshiarpur is Pañjābī. The language of Gurdaspur is also Pañjābī. The Kāngarī dialect covers the area of Kangra, Palampur, Nurpur and Dehra Gopipur tehsils of Kangra district. Though it is spoken in all these areas yet only in Kangra the standard variety of this dialect is found and in the rest of the areas we find variations. These variations occur from place to place due to natural division of the valley into vales. 'There is a definite change in the system and even in vocabulary on

account of spatial, social and occupational heterogeneity but still there is a commonhood between the speakers”

(KĀNGARĪ : *A descriptive study of Kangra Valley dialect*, p. 16).

Dialectal controversy also prevails among the scholars. Some scholars consider it a Pahārī dialect, while others consider it a dialect of Pañjābī. George Grierson was first drawn to note similarities with Pañjābī. He stated that Kāngarī is a sub-dialect of Ḍōgrī, and Ḍōgrī is a dialect of Pañjābī. Thus Kāngarī is a mixture of Pañjābī and Ḍōgrī dialect.

But some linguists are of the view that Ḍōgrī and Pañjābī are not related to Kangra dialect. Both Ḍōgrī and Pañjābī are two independent languages. Few examples are given as an evidence in the support of Kangra dialect :

“Pahārī is confined in Kangra, Kulu, Mandi, Suket and Simla Hills States while Kashmiri to the upper valley of Jehlam”.

(*Pahārī (Himachalī) Bhaṣā*, p. 22)

“Ḍōgrī proper is the language of the Dogra or Rajput inhabitants of Jammu and is spoken only in Jammu itself”.

(*Pahārī (Himachalī) Bhaṣā*, p. 22)

“But the Chibbali of the Kashmir Hills which lie between the valley of Srinagar and the Ravalpindi and Hazara border is according to Drew a dialect of Ḍōgrī.”

(*Pahārī (Himachalī) Bhaṣā*, p. 23)

Thus according to these statements Ḍōgrī, Pahārī and Kashmiri are three different independent languages. Ḍōgrī has only a sub-dialect Chibhālī which is spoken in the west of Jammu. So Kāngarī is a sub-dialect in itself which has no relation with the Ḍōgrī of Jammu and Kashmir state.

Siddheshwar Varma writes, “It is a frontier dialect, the pronunciation and the vocabulary of the dialect is Pahārī but in grammar few points are in convergence with Pañjābī. As Mālvi is Rājasthānī but merges into Bundeli and Gujarātī, similarly this dialect is Pahārī but merges into Pañjābī and Hindī” (*Kāngre dī bolī*, p. 46). Other linguists accept that it is entirely different from Pañjābī and Ḍōgrī, because on the three sides it is surrounded by Pahārī speaking area, i.e. Maṇḍeālī; Bhaṭeālī and Chameālī and only on one side by Pañjābī/Ḍōgrī speaking area. So it is overshadowed more by the Pahārī speaking

area. In *Kangra Gazetteer* (1924-25) it has been stated that locally this dialect is known as Pahārī. It has many points of resemblances to Maṇḍeālī and still more closely resembles Bhaṭeālī and Chameālī. Shyam Lal Sharma points out, "There are actual differentiations by the accumulation of distinctive innovations originally confined to this dialect. It may seem somewhat bizzare to posit the dialect area in the valleys where the parallels exist with overall sets of correspondences between related linguistic structures in the diasystems" (p. 17). So it is not as much as easy to consider it a Pahārī or a Pañjābī sub-dialect, unless the investigation is made on the subject in depth.

For the present study the data have been collected from the informants who speak standard Kāngarī. About ten informants have been recorded. The recorded data were transcribed to judge the extant quality of sounds, wherever there were doubts, the observations were verified and attested by a few informants.

In this paper an attempt has been made to bring out the peculiar features of the Kāngarī dialect in comparison with standard Pañjābī (viz., Mājhi) to show its similarities and dissimilarities with Pañjābī at phonological, morphological and lexical levels.

Phonological similarities and dissimilarities

The linguistic status of Kāngarī dialect is closely tied with Pañjābī. Pañjābī and Kāngarī have certain phonetic or phonemic similarities and dissimilarities, some of which are given below :

(1) In Kāngarī, /l/ and /l̥/ are considered to be two different phonemes. These are not allophones of the same phoneme /l/, e.g. /gəl/ 'talk', /gəl̥/ 'neck'. The phoneme /l̥/ does not occur word-initially but it has been noted in two or three words in the speech of few speakers, e.g. /l̥əmma/ 'long' /l̥amma/ 'complaint'. Its occurrence is frequent in word medial and final positions. In Pañjābī also /l/ and /l̥/ are considered to be two different phonemes rather than allophones of the same phoneme /l/. /l̥/ is neutralised in word initial position in favour of /l/.

(2) In Kāngarī, sibilant /s/ is used both for /s/ and /ʃ/. /ʃ/ is found in the borrowed words or in the speech of those speakers who are multilingual. Still /s/ is current in the valley. (In Pañjābī also, /ʃ/ is borrowed from Perso-Arabic (source)).

(3) Similarly in Kāṅgarī /b/ is used both for /b/ and /v/ as in the word initial position /varkha/ is pronounced as [barkha] 'rain', but in the word medial position its position is somewhat semivowel like and found in borrowed words, as in the word [rəwaj] 'ritual'. In Pañjābī the semivowel /v/ is found in initial and medial positions. It does not occur in word final position. There is also a tendency in the colloquial variety of Pañjābī to change the /v/ into /b/.

(4) In Kāṅgarī, the occurrence of long vowel /u/ in the word final position tends to be much more frequent as in /tokru/ 'basket', /balu/ 'ear-ring', /cacu/ 'uncle', /thalu/ 'a plate', /jálu/ 'when'. Generally nouns are thought to be -u ending. Most of the -u ending nouns are masculine (diminutive) but in Pañjābī we do not find such diminutives.

(5) Both in Kāṅgarī and Pañjābī, consonant clusters are not permitted in word initial position, but in word medial and final positions their occurrence is frequent.

(6) Glottal fricative /h/ is not found in the Kangra dialect, it is replaced by tone in all the three word positions. While in Pañjābī, Glottal /h/ is found in word initial position. Though in word medial and final position it is replaced by tone. We find three way tonal system both in Kāṅgarī as well as in Pañjābī.

(7) Vowels are rather longer before voiced consonants than before voiceless consonants in both Kāṅgarī and Pañjābī.

(8) Vowels in closed syllables are usually shorter as compared to the vowels in open syllables in both Kāṅgarī and Pañjābī.

(9) In Kāṅgarī, vowels under low tone are usually longer than vowels under high tone. In Pañjābī also vowels under low tone are longer than the vowels under high tone.

(10) In Kāṅgarī all the voiced aspirated stops are changed into voiceless stops in word initial position, but in word medial and final positions these are changed into voiced stops followed by a tone on the following vowel. In the speech of few speakers voiced aspirated

stops are changed into both voiceless and voiced stops in word initial position. It is simply a matter of geographical provenance of the speaker.

(11) In Kāṅgarī, voiceless aspirated /ph/ is heard as aspirated stop in the word initial position, but in the word medial and final positions it is heard as fricative /f/. In Pañjābī this aspirated stop is heard as fricative in all the three positions.

(12) The short vowels [I, ə and U] do not occur in word final position in both Pañjābī and Kāṅgarī. They are neutralised in favour of long vowels.

Morphological similarities and dissimilarities

There are some morphological similarities and dissimilarities cf. p. 193 as such :—

(1) In Kāṅgarī auxiliary verb /ā/ is used with first person singular pronoun /mē/, but auxiliary verb /ē/ is used with both /tū/ and /ó/ second and third person singular pronouns. In the case of plurality, auxiliary verb /ān/ is used with first, second and third person plural pronouns ; but Pañjābī possesses dissimilarity here ; three different auxiliary forms are used with three different possible pronouns. e.g. :

Kāṅgarī		Pañjābī	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
mē jānda ā	əsā jānde ān	mē jānda hā	əsī jānde hā 'I/we go'.
tū jānda ē	tUsā jānde ān	tū jānda hē	tUsī jānde ho 'You go'.
sē/ó jānda ē	ó/sē jānde ān	ó jānda hē	ó jānde hān 'He/she/goes /they go'.

In Pañjābī auxiliary verb /hā/ is used with plural pronoun /əsī/, /ho/ is used with second person plural pronoun /tUsi/ and /hān/ is used with third person plural pronoun /ó/.

(2) In Kāṅgarī four possible verbal forms are used with both singular and plural pronouns in ordinary and polite conversation. e.g. :

	sg.	pl.s/g.	roots	
Pronouns	tū	tUsā	tū	tUsā
Ordinary conversation	cāl	cālla	v+φ	v+a
Polite conversation	cālē	cālneo	v+ē	v+eo

but in Pañjābī we find only two verbal forms used with second person singular and plural pronouns, e.g.

tū cāl 'you go' *tUsi cāllo* 'you (please) go'.

(3) In Pañjābī, nouns used with ablative singular and locative plural are found, like *pīndō*, *śērō*, *kārō*, but in Kāṅgarī we don't find such position, in this case *-te* postposition is used with nouns like *kēre te* 'from home', *grāe te* 'from village', *sēre te* 'from city'.

(4) In Pañjābī vocative forms *e*, *oe*, *o*, *nī*, *ve* are used. */nī/* and */e/* vocative forms are used only with feminine subject but in Kāṅgarī we find vocative forms *o*, *oe*, *bo*, *no*, *helo*, *mātu* and *ji* etc.

(5) In Pañjābī durative mode is shown by suffixing *-rīa* with verbal form like : *ja rīa*, *kha rīa* etc., but in Kāṅgarī *-ada* suffix is added with verbal form like *callada*, *khada*, *soada*, *roada* etc. :

Kāṅgarī	Pañjābī	
<i>sē callada ē</i>	<i>ó ja rīa hē</i>	'He is going'.
<i>sē khada ē</i>	<i>ó kha rīa hē</i>	'He is eating'.
<i>sē soada ē</i>	<i>ó so rīa hē</i>	'He is sleeping'.
<i>sē roada ē</i>	<i>ó ro rīa hē</i>	'He is weeping'.

(6) In Kāṅgarī *-a* suffix is added with few verbal forms which we don't find in Pañjābī :

Kāṅgarī	Pañjābī	
<i>pārna</i>	<i>pārṇ</i>	'to read'
<i>kāmaṇa</i>	<i>kāman</i>	'to earn'
<i>khelṇa</i>	<i>kheḍṇ</i>	'to play'
<i>sē pārna jānda ē</i>	<i>ó pārṇ jānda hē</i>	'He goes for study'.
<i>sē kāmaṇa gya</i>	<i>ó kāmaṇ gIa</i>	'He went to earn'.
<i>sē khelṇa gya</i>	<i>ó kheḍṇ gIa</i>	'He went to play'.

(7) In Kāṅgarī compound verbs are the same as we find in Pañjābī, but the first verb is ended with *-i* suffix e.g. :

Kāṅgarī	Pañjābī	
<i>khai leṇa</i>	<i>kha leṇa</i>	'to eat'
<i>pUcchi beṭhṇa</i>	<i>pUcch beṭhṇa</i>	'to ask'
<i>cālī pṇa</i>	<i>cāl pṇa</i>	'to move'
<i>pāi jāṇa</i>	<i>pṇ jāṇa</i>	'to lie down'
<i>āssi pṇa</i>	<i>hāss pṇa</i>	'to laugh'
<i>pī leṇa</i>	<i>pī leṇa</i>	'to drink'
<i>dāssi deṇa</i>	<i>dāss deṇa</i>	'to tell'

Thus we find change in the first verbal form, but the other one (second verbal form) remains the same.

(8) In agentive constructions Pañjābī possess *-ne* postposition, which governs that the noun associated with it to be in oblique form but in Kāṅgarī *-ne* postposition is not used in similar constructions :

Kāṅgarī	Pañjābī
<i>mūḍue kUttue</i> <i>jo marIa.</i>	<i>mūḍe ne kUtte</i> 'The boy killed/hit <i>nu marIa</i> the dog'.

(9) In Kāṅgarī *-a* suffix is not added with verbal form (in case of future syntactic construction) but in Pañjābī *-a* suffix is added :

Kāṅgarī	Pañjābī
<i>mē tIjjo dāsga</i>	<i>mē tenū dāssāga</i> 'I will tell you'.
<i>mē tIjjo mārga</i>	<i>mē tenu marāga</i> 'I will beat you'.

(10) Pronominal forms used in Kāṅgarī as compared to Pañjābī dialect show a difference :

	Kāṅgarī		Pañjābī	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
first P.	<i>mē</i>	<i>asā</i>	<i>mē</i>	<i>asī</i>
second P.	<i>tū</i>	<i>tUsā</i>	<i>tū</i>	<i>tUṣi</i>
third P.	<i>é, sé, ó</i>	<i>é, ó</i>	<i>é, ó</i>	<i>é, ó</i>

(11) In Kāṅgarī, nouns like relative, diminutive and proper names are almost *-u* ending e.g.

Relative nouns : *tau, nanu, cacu, mamu, mau.*

Diminutive nouns : *sUthnu, kUrtu, thalu, tokru*

Proper names : *kṛsu, mānku, bIṭṭu*

All these *-u* ending nouns are masculine.

(12) Postpositions used in Kāṅgarī as compared to Pañjābī are as follows :

Kāṅgarī ²	Pañjābī
<i>jo</i>	<i>nū</i> <i>mūndue jo</i> 'Don't beat <i>māt mardī</i> the boy'.
<i>taī, vaste</i>	<i>lai, vaste</i> <i>beṭhne taī koi</i> 'There was no <i>pakki jāga ni thi</i> proper place to sit'.

2. The syntactic structure of Pañjābī language remains the same, as we find in Kāṅgarī ; but the few variations in the postpositions have been noted, as shown under Pañjābī category.

<i>tIk, tIkkər</i>	<i>tək</i>	<i>ó kətab mere</i> <i>tIk ni pujji</i>	'I didn't get that book'.
<i>te</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>mere te (mette)</i> <i>kya pUcchadi</i>	'What do you ask from me' ?
<i>prənt, bád</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>mərne prənt</i> <i>kya lūga</i>	'What will be after death' ?
<i>bəkkhi</i>	<i>na !</i>	<i>mere bəkkhi</i> <i>mət boldi</i>	'Don't speak with me'.
<i>bəl, bəla, pāl</i>	<i>kol</i>	<i>lūde bəl kIcch</i> <i>ni ẽ</i>	'He has nothing with him'.
<i>bIna, sUa, bəger</i> <i>bájji</i>	<i>bIna,</i> <i>sIva</i>	<i>tIs bIna mẽ roṭi</i> <i>ni khai səkdi</i>	'I can't take my meals without him'.
<i>səggi, səmet, səṇe</i> <i>kəna, kəne</i>	<i>nal, səmet</i> <i>səṇe</i>	<i>us səmet car</i> <i>prəṇe the</i>	'There were four guests including him'.
<i>Uppər, pər,</i> <i>prállẽ</i>	<i>Uppər, Utte</i>	<i>meje pər</i> <i>kItab ẽ</i>	'The book is on the table'.
<i>khatər</i>	<i>ləl</i>	<i>terl khatər mẽ</i> <i>kIcch bi kəri səkdi</i>	'I can do anything for you'.
<i>parẽ</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>nədia parẽ</i> <i>cəl</i>	'Let us go across the river'.
<i>bIc, cə, bIccẽ</i>	<i>vIc, cə</i>	<i>ḍəbbe cə</i> <i>kya ẽ ?</i>	'What is in the tin' ?
<i>ẽṭh, thəllẽ</i>	<i>thəlle, heṭh</i>	<i>məñjia ẽṭh</i> <i>dIkkh</i>	'Look under the cot'.

-da, -de, -di, -diā and -deā postpositions are the same as we find in Pañjābī.

Lexical differences and similarities

Due to the similarity of structure the major part of the lexicon is common to both languages ; the loan words are mostly filtered down from the Persian and Sanskrit. Sometimes for the same phenomena Kāṅgarī and Pañjābī have totally different words :

<i>Pañjābī</i>	<i>Kāṅgarī</i>	
<i>našta</i>	<i>dətyallu</i>	'breakfast'
<i>gIcci</i>	<i>kyari</i>	'neck'
<i>gəllā</i>	<i>khakā</i>	'cheeks'

<i>bull</i>	<i>llbər</i>	'lips'
<i>səvera</i>	<i>pyəg</i>	'morning'
<i>kəmrə</i>	<i>Uaṇ</i>	'room'
<i>pīnd</i>	<i>grā</i>	'village'

Sometimes the common words have different meanings in both Pañjābī and Kāṅgarī :

	<i>Pañjābī</i>	<i>Kāṅgarī</i>
<i>mādra</i>	'short'	'a sort of preparation of curd'
<i>gələ</i>	'from neck'	'a bitter creeper'
<i>ləmka</i>	'to hang'	'bat'
<i>kəmrī</i>	'small room'	'jacket'
<i>kəjai</i>	'defective'	'quarrelsome'
<i>bəkkhi</i>	'waist'	'beside'
<i>səggi</i>	'raisin'	'along with'

Few words are common from semantic and shape point of view in both Kāṅgarī and Pañjābī :

<i>pUttər</i>	'son'
<i>jəmin</i>	'land'
<i>kəpṛa</i>	'cloth'
<i>nū</i>	'son's wife'
<i>nəlek</i>	'unfit'
<i>cəmar</i>	'cobbler'
<i>jImidar</i>	'owner of land'
<i>phəli</i>	'beans'
<i>tərkhaṇ</i>	'carpenter'
<i>chəlli</i>	'maize'
<i>cŪlla</i>	'hearth'
<i>kəymal</i>	'engagement'
<i>gəggər</i>	'water pot'
<i>əṇjaṇ</i>	'unknown'

A large number of terms derived from Sanskrit have become a valuable part of general vocabulary, such as :

<i>atma</i>	'soul'
<i>gyan</i>	'knowledge'
<i>tirəth</i>	'shrine'
<i>dəya</i>	'kindness'

<i>pap</i>	'sin'
<i>pərlək</i>	'next world'
<i>pərkəma</i>	'to move around'
<i>pərlə</i>	'deluge'
<i>əgyan</i>	'ignorance'
<i>nag</i>	'snake'

The words derived from Persian have undergone some phonological changes as shown in the following examples :

	Persian	Kāṅgarī	
<i>U</i> → <i>ə</i>	<i>bUkhar</i>	<i>bəkhar</i>	'temprature'
<i>U</i> → <i>ə</i>	<i>zUkam</i>	<i>jəkham</i>	'cold'
<i>ai</i> → <i>ə</i>	<i>haiza</i>	<i>heja</i>	'cholera'
<i>U</i> → <i>ə</i>	<i>dUkan</i>	<i>dəkan</i>	'shop'

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KĀNGARĪ STYLISTICS

SHYAMLAL

Kāngarī the main dialect of Himachal Pradesh is spoken by more than one million people in Kangra, Hamirpur and Una districts and understood by the people equal in number in the neighbouring districts of own and other states of Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir. The folk literature is the main stream of Kāngarī running charmingly inside and outside of Pradesh. It has a direct appeal to head and heart with its charm of cadence. The folk songs have attracted many style takers and style givers in the performances of their artistic and cultural tradition. The signs, symbols, words and actions have acquired the great value in the routine of life.

The history of words is the history of the culture of the people in all aspects of life. The words are the vivid signs of thought-contents establishing contact of mind of the speaker and hearer. These are presented nicely in a sing-song manner. The music seems to pervade the atmosphere in high and low terrains of the hills. The devout people perform /jātra/¹ (*yatra*) to the ancient pilgrimage centres like the temples of Jwalamukhi, Chamunda, Vajreshvari, Chintapurni and others situated at the top of Shivalik and Dhauladhar ranges filled with the air of tinkling of bells and blowing of conches.

The /jātra/ styles remind us the gentle and gracious ways of the ancient days of the glory that is the valley of Gods. In the shrines of Bābā Bālakanātha, Bābā Bālakarūpī and other sages and saints we are transported to a world of fantasy remaining in the scenic beauty of the nature evoking the philosophy that is '*satyam śivam sundaram*'.

We quote from wisdom that philosophy begins when language goes on a holiday. Our educated class has a transformational approach to the language. We try to know much about ourselves but we do not know about others in reality. We present the tones and intonational contours of our speech in graphs but we do not try to introspect the mind, the depth of the language. We cannot

1. Phonemic representation of vowels with horizontal line above between bars / /, does not indicate length but tone (mid).

depict ethos and pathos but can depict our hunger and anger by raising eye-brows and moving cheeks up and down.

Kāngaṛī presents its own fashion of speech with catch words. The facial expression plays a great part to complete the sense of utterance, thought and tactics of the speakers. The gestures with favourite style of monosyllabic words /u/, /a/ and /i/ dispose the matter in a quick succession. The facial expressions depict the behaviour of the speaker. The vociferous speakers enjoy great liberties with their mother tongue without any offence.

The stylistics concerns itself with the specialities and peculiarities of the expressions in speech. The emotional features are subservient to the stylistics. Ashok R. Kelkar is of the opinion that from the view point of language, style may be defined as purposeful language variation (Bhāṣa āṇi Sāhitya, p. 1).

Siddheshwar Varma emphasizes the stylistic approach to the words and their usage with an aesthetic experience providing a meeting ground for all branches of learning in *Śabdabrahman*. Gauri Shankar examines the emotive aspect of the language in stylistics in the comparative and historical processes as illustrated in his well read works in Dōgrī and allied languages especially in his publication, "Dogras: their language and literature" (Chandigarh, 1981).

The stylistics has various levels in delineation. We would like to think in terms of graphemes, phonemes, morphemes, sentence patterns and semantics.

GRAPHEMES

"The Moving Finger writes ; and having writ,
Moves on ! nor all thy Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it".

(Omar Khayyām).

The language is the important system of symbols and signs. These include traffic lights, road signs, technical codes and stereotyped gestures. Paintings, photographs, portraits, codings and recodings, notes and maps etc. are also included in signs. In the language system the study of these symbols and signs illuminates the tradition of the history and culture of the people. The pictorial graphics with various materials present the beginning of writing.

A series of ideas is depicted in a picturesque style of writing or painting. *alpanā*, locally known as */ēppən/* in the hills, on the floor or walls inside and outside the house presents a feast of colours. Chamba *rumālā* with silk threads in various hues gives the striking notes of love and heroic deeds in *rāsālīlā* and wedding scences. The picturesque language of ritual decorations on walls and floors of homes and temples convey the style of performances of rituals like Kāmādeva in a marriage ceremony, Gaṇeśa in all *vratas* and *pūjas*, footprints of Mahālakṣmī on *Dīpamālā* and various shades of nature on *haryālī* (*haritalīkā*), */kārūa cōth/* (*karka caturthī*), */hoī ātthē/* (*ahoī aṣṭamī*), */jānmāṭthē/* (*Śrī Kṛṣṇajānmāṣṭamī*) and a number of rituals and festivals observed throughout the year in the valley. Our linguistic and cultural heritage is delineated by describing the scenes of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata in a number of temples in the valley like Narvadeśvara mandira at Sujanpur Tira. The wall paintings in the temple give the narration from the epics in a pictographic language.

The masters of the pictographic style are known as */būjru/* or */cātēra/*. Among the women folk the names of floor painting style, */ēppən/* (*alpanā*) and */līkhṇu/* are quite familiar. */sēñca/* is on the material like utensils and clay model. */sāncōlu/* the bread of wheat and rice fried with sweet or salt in ghee or oil is marked with */sēñca/*. */tthāppa/* is a die applied on clothes with the impression of flowers and pictures in multihues.

/tūlsī/ (*Ocimum Sacrum*) is the index of the beauty of a house. The pedestal of */tūlsī/* presents the artistic fervour of the family. In the niches on four sides of */tūlsī/* pedestal the family deities Gaṇeśa and others with the offerings of worship are placed therein. The pictures of deities like sun, moon, stars, birds, animals, heroes and heroines are drawn all with the *mantras*, *dohās*, *svastika* and other signs and symbols on the walls all around. Thus the designs and patterns in multicolours convey the aesthetic sense of the people living in the lap of nature. There remained no local script in the valley to present the trends in the historical linguistics. Our sacred and classical literature was presented in the variety of *Śarada* script. The commercial classes employed *ṭāṅkri* as their script. Now Hindi, the *lingua franca*, in *Devanagari* characters is the language of administration in the Pradesh.

PHONEMES

Segmental and suprasegmental phonemes are the basis to describe some specialities in the stylistics of Kāṅgarī.

Among the vowels /u/ is the most favourite one. No doubt /a/ and /i/ claim superiority but the vowel /u/ claims both superiority as well as commonness. Stylistically /u/ shows intimacy in the kinship terms. /cāccu/ 'father's younger brother', /nānnu/ 'mother's father', /massu/ 'mother's sister's husband', /bū/ 'father's sister' etc. are spoken in the style of intimate conversation against the terms given like /cācca/, /nānna/, /massār/ and /phūpphi/. The household belongings have diminutive ending /-u/ as :

utensils : /cārōttu/, /bāṭōu/, /hāṇḍu/, /pāru/, /thālu/, /gārḅu/, /glassu/ etc.

Garments are : /cāggū/ 'shirt', /tōppu/ 'cap', /sūthṇu/ 'trouser', /pāṭṭu/ 'blanket'.

/cōluḍoru/ is the upper garment of Gaddis. /gāddumIttu/ is a stylistic wrapping of head and neck of a child.

The construction with wood work is expressed in various styles :

/cōbbu/, 'door to upper storey' /dvāru/ 'window', /kōṭṭṇu/ 'small almirah in wall', /pēru/ 'container of cereal' etc.

The agricultural instruments are denoted with the ending /-u/ :

/kādālu/, /bēllu/, /cāmru/, /kUāru/, /drāttu/.

The agricultural products have a speciality with /-u/ :

/rṇ/ 'cotton', /kāṇḍōlū/ 'lady's finger', /pēthku/ 'pumpkin', /kākru/, 'cucumber' /khāṭṭu/ 'sour' and /mItṭhu/ 'sweet fruit'.

The preparation of meals is in sweet touch with /-u/ :

/pākōru/, /pātrōru/, /dūddu pāttu/, /khīru/ etc.

The articles near hearth are :

/phukṇu/, /pēmplu/, /tēnthu/, /lōkru/, /sIkru/, /pēcru/, /cŪru mŪru/ 'fuel of all kind'.

The religious performance is expressed in a humble style ending with /-u/ :

/jēpuju/ 'worship', /srāḍru/, 'śrāddha', /cābārkhru/ 'caturvārsika śrāddha, ancestors' worship'.

The articles of worship are pronounced with /-u/ :

/ārgu/, /chūccchu/, /kūṅgu/, /kūṇḍu/.

The nicknames of the persons are given in the style of the happy environments as :

/hīmmu/ 'snow', /pāru/ 'mountain', /sēllu/ 'hill'.

The names for the sake of longevity and safety from the evil eye are given as :

/bāddu/ 'extra', /gūnnu/, /phīnnu/, /dābu/, /cāru/ 'scavenger'.

The names of months and days are given as personal names :—

Months : /cētru/, /basākkhu/, /hāru/, /sōnu/, /kāttu/, /māgēru/, /māggū/, /phāgnū/ ;

Days : /suāru/, /māṅgu/, /būddu/, /prēbtu/, /sūkru/, /sānīcāru/.

/-i/ the feminine suffix is used in a delicate style of speech as in kinship terms /mūnni/, /bīṭti/, /tī/ 'daughter', /lāri/ 'bride', /nōṭi/ 'second bride' and in the term of endearment as /nīkki/, /lōkki/, 'little', /pōḍḍi/ 'fat', /sūndri mūndri/, 'charming'.

Pronouns : The style is adopted to give direction with the following words :

/īnni/ 'by this', /tīni/, /ūnni/ 'by him' and /kūnni/ 'by whom' ?

/jīni/ 'by whom' and the further direction is denoted by the extension of /-ē/ as /īniē/ 'this manner, this way'.

/ūniē/ 'that way', /kūniē/ 'which way' ?, /jīniē/ 'which way', these expressions occur in free variation as :

/īnci/, /īnnici/, /īnniciē/, /ūnciē/, /ūnniciē/, /kūnci/, /kūnniciē/, /kūnniē/, /jīnci/, /jīnnici/, /jīnniciē/.

Among the consonants the exclusive use of /b/ for /v/ occurs in Kāṅgarī :

Dev and Devī becomes /dēb/ and /dēbi/, Ravaṇa is /rābāṇ/, varṣa is /bārkhā/.

/s/ is adopted for /s/ and /ś/. The context determines the difference of meanings :—

/sūr/ is brave as well as pig.

/sār/ is arrow as well as number in the game of playing cards.

/sēr/ is lion as well as weight a little less than one kilogram.

/bās/ is control as well as bus and enough.

Lateral alveolar */l/* in the style of retroflex lateral */l̥/* gives the contrast as follows :

/lal/ 'red' and */laḷ/* 'saliva'.

/gāl/ 'talk' and */gāl̥/* 'neck'.

/h/ occurs in various styles of speech. Initially in a prevocalic position it is voiceless sometimes strong and sometimes lax according to the tempo of speech as */har/* 'garland', */hākh/* 'eye', and sometimes it disappears in connected speech as */ē pyūli cīk hē/* 'This is yellow earth'.

Medially and finally */h/* occurs in low rising and high falling tone. In low rising tone it becomes */jār/* for *hazar* 'thousand', */sāb/* *hisāb* 'account' */sān/ aihsan*, 'obligation'.

If these words are uttered in the style of high falling tone the meaning is quite different as */jār/* *jāhir*, 'apparent', */sāb/* 'sahib' */sān/* 'bull'.

If these words are uttered without these tones the meaning of */sān/* is pomp and show. */kōri/* with mid tone means bitter, */kōri/* (*ghori*) with low rising tone means mare and */kōri/* with high falling tone means leper.

Stylistically the popular word */lār/* 'bride' uttered with high falling tone as */lār/* provides enough joke meaning kitchen garden.

Thus there is a series of examples of words uttered with low rising high falling and intermediate tones described as voice-pitch generated by vocal cords (vide Jones, p. 145).

The style of speaking */s/* for */s/* and */ś/* : The style of speaking voiceless */s/* as voiced */ś/* evokes laughter from */ś/* speakers even in the prayer—*/sīri sīb sānkār sām̐bu, sānti sānti/* for *Śrī Śiva Śaṅkara Sambhu Śānti Śānti*.

The retroflex phonemes have an association with dull and dark material as in the words :

/thāḍḍi/ 'third or last', comparable with */mīri/* 'first', */ḍōlli/* 'second', in a game. */ḍāl̥k/* cockroach', */ḍēṇ/* 'witch', */t̥and̥u t̥h̥Ūr̥r̥e/* 'ugly feet', */t̥h̥uṭ̥hu/* 'ugly pot'.

The harsh expressions are used with dark consonants :—

[t̥hū], *[t̥hā]*, *[t̥l̥p̥atak]*, *[t̥h̥Uk t̥hUk]*, *[g̥Uṛg̥Uṛ]*, *[ḍud]* etc.

The expressions of pet animals and children occur with soft phonemes :

[myāũ] 'cat call', *[tō to]*, *[cō co]* 'dog call', *[kō ko]* 'crow call' *[mē mē]* 'lamb call' *[mā ma]*, *[pī pi]*, *[kuku]*, *[tū tu]* 'child's~ expressions'.

In a historical style *[tr]* has been retained in Kāṅgarī as *[tr̥]* (*> tṛ*), Hindi *tīn*, 'three', *[tr̥ōt]* (*> trut*), Hindi *[t̥ot]* 'deficiency', *[Uṇīndra]* (*> unnidra*) 'sleepless', *[p̥Utt̥ar]* (*> putra*), *[p̥ōtru]* (*> pautra*), Hindi *potā* 'grandson', *[d̥ōtru]* (*> dauhitra*), Hindi *dohatā*, 'daughter's son'.

NOUNS

The problem of synonymity complicates the matter of choice in morphological categories. The synonyms are good in number in certain popular substantives. *[bāt]*, *[r̥āsta]*, *[s̥āṛk]*, *[r̥ōṛ]* are common in use but there are some substantives with some shades of meanings in different styles of expression.

[mārg] in a traditional style occurs as *[r̥ajmarg]*, *[b̥ēkUṇṭh marg]* 'vaikṇṭha mārga', *[j̥ām marg]* 'Yama mārga' 'way to hell, difficult path'.

[bāt] is generally short and *[bāt]* is a long way with a synonym *[p̥ēṇḍa]*.

[c̥āṇḍā] is a raised path made of stones. *[kUāl]* is a stone path leading to the top of hill from a river or a stream. *[kUāl]* is a familiar expression in a guiding style as :

[Īk nālū dō kUāl]

'one streamlet (and) two stone paths leading to hill top' ;

[ch̥ār] is a stepping stone to cross a rivulet ;

[t̥āppa] is a stoppage to water course for a jump from one stone to another in a stream ;

[gór] is a hamlet path usually in between fences ;

[ph̥āl] is a way within a way to a hut ;

|gālā|, *|gālī|*, *|gālū|* are used in a style to denote the pass between hillocks as *|pragge da gālū|* is known near Alampur in Kangra ;

|bīr| is a narrow path between two fields ;

|pēcchər| and *|pēr|* is a tracing in sands or marshy lands ;

|āṭṭī| or *|bī|* is a footpath adjoining the house doors serving as a seat in the veranda ;

|prō| is a covered way to enter the premises of a house or a temple ;

|dūd|, *|bīl|*, *|cōr|* are hollows in a tree, rock, ground or roof of a house leading way of insects, birds and beasts ;

|kācch| is a corner path for careful walk on the hill especially to direct the bullock in ploughing a field.

|kāṇḍa| is a shore to approach the boat to across the river as the expression is *|khāḍḍa da Uarla kāṇḍa|* 'this side of the rivulet' and *|khāḍḍa da parla kāṇḍa|* 'opposite side of the rivulet'.

The synonyms have a specific importance in an ordinary conversation and folksongs.

The words *|nār|* and *|gōri|* used in an ordinary way are styled with some shades of meanings in folksongs. *|nār|* is a lady meaning in general but *|gōri|* is a beautiful young lady with her delicate style in behaviour and expression. It is a routine for all to fetch a pitcher of water at some distance in the valley but the style of a beautiful young lady to handle the pitcher is always appreciated as it occurs in a folksong :

|cūk kārōllu gōri pānie jo cālli|.

Her style of conversation is also full of charm as depicted in a song :

|gōrie mīneā nā mār|

'O fair lady ! do not taunt (but say direct).'

The word *|gōri|* the name of Pārvatī, daughter of Himālaya and *lokamāta* has a long tradition in the history of Indian culture.

The special importance is attached to the word *|sUāṇ|* or *|sUāṇi|* (*saubhāgyavati*), the married woman who is welcome in a ceremony particularly in a marriage.

In the ordinary conversation we find the words like */jāṇi/* as the expression is */Īk jāṇi mēle cālli/* 'One lady went to fair' and */dō jāṇṛā mēle cālṛā/* 'Two ladies went to a fair.'

Another synonym is */jāṇas/* or typically pronounced as */jUāṇs/* occurring in popular sayings of time scale :

/jUāṇsā da nōṇ kāṇe mārḍā da khāṇ Īk bārābbār hōnda/

'Bathing time of ladies is equal to the eating time of men. Ladies take too much time for a bath.'

/mārḍ/ and */ōrt/* are still strange words in Kāṅgārī. The synonyms of */mārḍ/* are */māṇs/*, */mānŪkkh/*, */jāṇa/*, */ādmī/* and */māṇu/*. Sometimes the expression is used for clarity in speech to introduce a borrowed element as */mārḍ māṇu/* 'to be a brave man'. */gābru/* is a young man popularly sung as :

/chē! chē! gābru tā bankṛā nārā

'Very handsome young men and beautiful ladies,

bōḷṇā bōl pyārā/

talking (is) a sweet word.'

In the learned letter of March 3, 1981 Siddheshwar Varma pleases to write, "*/nār/* in Kāṅgārī for a woman is her edification indicating the rich edifying mechanisms of Kāṅgārī poetry".

In kinship terms */nār/* adopts various styles of personality as */tī/* 'daughter' */tyāṇ/* 'married daughter', */lārī/* 'son's spouse' */sās/* 'spouse's mother' */nānēs/* 'spouse's mother's mother', */dādēs/* 'spouse's father's mother,' */pātrēs/* 'spouse's father's younger brother's wife' and so on.

In kinship terms */māṇu/* adopts the styles of his personality as */jātk/* or */jāgt/* 'son', */lārā/* 'spouse(m.)' */sōra/* 'spouse's father', */dādōra/* 'spouse's father's father', */nānōra/* 'spouse's mother's father' */nāṇōi/* or */nāṇḍōi/* 'husband or husband's sister' and so on.

Typically */sās/* is addressed as */jī/* and her statement is quoted as */jī glāde/* 'Spouse's mother is speaking,' */jī kāsri thī/* 'Spouse's mother was ill', etc.

The word */lārī/* continues till she attains the honour of grandma. The words */khāsm jUāṇs/* are used in an ordinary style of conversation.

Siddheshwar Varma passes an illuminating note on March 2, 1981 expressing as, "The phantasies of human language have been illustrated by *|nārā da lāra|* and *|khāsm jāṇāssā da|*".

It is interesting to note the style of conversation between husband and wife and in relation to them with pronouns as *|sé|*, *|tūsā|* *|āppu|* or with an esteem as *|āppu hōrā|*, *|āppu mārāj|*. In the adjectival forms *|kārealā|* and *|kāreali|* are common.

The superiors are addressed as *|mārāj|* (*mahārāja*). The landlord and landladies are *|bājia|* and *|bājyāni|*. Shopkeepers are *|sā|* and *|sāni|*. In the rapid conversation *paṇḍitji* becomes *|pāṇḍi|* and *māstarji* becomes *|massi|* 'master Sir'.

To address the stranger or disgusted person the style of conversation is adopted with the words, *|bō|*, *|nō|*, *|ni|*, *|ō|*, *|ōe|*, *|mātū|*, *|hālō|* etc. *|bō|*, *|nō|*, *|mīe|* are found together in a pithy style of this couplet :—

|āsā bō sūṇea tēra byā bō kitta,
ē bō kya bō kitta mīe nō phūlū

'O Phulanu ! we have heard that your marriage has been celebrated. Oh ! what has been done my dear oh dear !'

To avoid the direct form of address the style of conversation is adopted with the phrase — *|ākhā|*, *|ākhē|*, *|mākha|* 'I say' or 'I said thus'.

In all types of conversation the superstition lurks in the mind of the people. Generally they pass a greeting smile but do not open their mouth till they know the behaviour of the stranger. They are distrustful to strangers as these are called *|trīa tārphen|* 'third person' or *|ōpra|* 'outsider'. The word *|ōpra|* is also associated with the supernatural power that is worshipped in a stylistic manner to repel witches and to propitiate the fortune. The natural calamity is termed as the displeasure of the supernatural being. The various actions of *|ōpra|* are there. The expression goes *|ōpre da pārchāṇḍa|* 'the havoc by supernatural power'. *|chālēḍḍa|* is another shaky action of *|ōpra|* the spirit pelting stones on the way and causing other disturbances in a number of forms of fire, water and wind. In the thickly populated areas in the valley the spirit of *|ōpra|* is disappearing while leaving behind the style of expression in a telltale blush.

PRONOUNS

The conversation is opened with the stylistic use of pronouns as */kya nãʃ/* 'What name?', */sé tã/* 'he then,' or just like English expression 'You see' in a polite form */sé p̃əi kya nã bŪj tū iã ni ũiã gl̃aṇa/* 'You see brother, to speak that way but not this way'.

Pronouns, indefinite */kõ/* 'any' */kŪcch/* 'some', */kĪcch/* and interrogative personal */kŪṇ/* 'who', preserve */U/* in all inflected forms as */kŪsjo/* 'to whom', */kŪstãṛ/* 'for whom', */kŪsne/* 'with whom', */kŪni/* 'by whom' etc. against */I/* in Hindi */kIsko/*, */kIsne/* and Pañjābi */kĪsnu/*, */kIn/* etc.

/kõ/ 'any one' is used in Kāṅgarī but */kóki/* is used stylistically as */kóki gl̃ada/* 'some one is speaking' instead of */kõ gl̃ada/*.

/mĪnjo/, */tĪjjo/* style of conversation is very popular in Kāṅgarī. */mĪnjo/* 'to me', */tĪjjo/* 'to you', */tĪsjo/* 'to him/her' are in a regular form against Hindi */mUjhe/*, */tUjhe/*, */Use/* and Pañjābi */mēnnu/*, */tēnnu/*, */Ūsnu/* or */ónu/*.

/mĪnjo/ and */tĪjjo/* are styled with all postpositions as */mĪnjo tãṛ/* 'for me', */mĪnjo c/* 'in me', */mĪnjo p̃ər/* 'on me', */mĪnjo k̃əne/* 'with me', */mĪnjo s̃əggi/* 'alongwith me'.

Likewise the postpositions occur with */tĪjjo/*, */tĪjjo tãṛ/*, */tĪjjote/*, */tĪjjoc/*, */tĪjjo p̃ər/*, */tĪjjo k̃əne/*, */tĪjjo s̃əggi/* 'alongwith you' etc.

ADJECTIVES

Stylistically */khāra/* 'good' */māta khāra/* 'very good' are used to start conversation whether it is seemly to praise someone or not.

/āccha/ 'good', usually 'yes' pronounced with */h/* initially as */hāccha/* conveys the sense of crystal clear as */hāccha p̃āni/* 'clear water', */hācchi kh̃āḍ/* 'clear rivulet', */hācchi pyāg/* 'clear morning, dawn', etc.

If we adopt the Bengali style of pronunciation the meaning is contrary to expectation as */hōccha mānu/* 'low person', */hōchp̃āna/* 'low mentality'. It is well to quote a proverb here to illustrate the word :

|hōcche jo mīlla gōccha sé lāe ki dāsse| or in another style it is spoken as :

|hōcche jo mīlea gōccha tIni tīni tīni ne tōrea|. A mean fellow shows off his bigness when he gets something. Here *|gōccha|* 'loin-cloth' is in the sense of diaper not for baby but for younger also.

|ōkkhi sōkkhi bīd| is for difficult and easy style. *|nōkkha|* is strange and *|phōkka|* is insipid. In a good style of conversation *|khāra|* is used with other adjectives in good sense as *|chē|*, *|bānka|*, *|bādia|*, *|pāla|*, *|sāph|*, *|nīrmal|*, *|cītī|* etc. In a bad sense the adjectives are used as *|māra|*, *|būra|*, *|khōṭṭa|*, *|mēlla|*, *|phūr|* etc. In a good taste the adjectives are *|sUadla|*, *|mītṭha|*, *|sājra|*, *|phrūra|* and in a bad taste these are *|phīkka|*, *|rūkkha|*, *|sūkkha|*, *|gājla|*, *|līgga|*, *|laggu|* etc.

The adjectives in common taste are :

|ākhra|, *|mīssa|*, *|mīssi|* 'mixed', *|mōra|*, *|lūnka|* 'salty', *|khātmītṭha|* 'sour and sweet' etc.

The names of months are not pronounced earlier. These are styled with adjectives denoting the specialities of months as *caitra* is known *|ṭōlruā ala|*, *vaiśākha* as *|bāsōa|*, *jyēṣṭha* as *|bōḍḍa|*, *śrāvaṇa* as *|lēra|*, *bhādrapada* as *|kāla|*, *aśvina* as *|matabar|* or *|nārattēā|*, (*navarātra*), *kartika* as *|dyaḷkh|* further months as *|lōkka|*, *|lōri|* etc. as *|pō|*, *|māgēr|*, *|phāggāṇ|* are the months under one heading *|hyūnd|* ~ *|yūnd|* *hemanta*.

POSTPOSITIONS

Stylistically the locative case ending *|-e|* replaces the postpositions *|c|*, *|bIc|* when we put a question, *|cāccu kūthu|* 'Where is uncle?' The prompt reply is made *|hētṭē|* 'in the shop' *|kārē|* 'at home', *|nōṇē|* 'at the bathing tank', *|khētrē|* 'in the field', *|grāē|* 'in the village', *|skūllē|* 'in the school'.

Such a style is not applicable to the feminine forms. In such a case either the form remains unchanged or the postpositions *|bIc|*, *|c|* etc. are added to complete the sense. In reply to the question *|cāccu kūthu ē|* the feminine form is *|pāṭhsala|* or *|pāṭhsalac|* 'in the school', *|tāsīlla|* 'at tehsil', *|lāria|* 'in the kitchen garden', *|dīlia|* at Delhi', *|jUalamUkhi|* 'at Jwalamukhi'.

/-mara/ 'for the sake' is a common style in speech as */tĭjjo mara/* 'for your sake', */mĭnjo mara/* 'for my sake' */Īsa mara/* 'For this sake', */kŪsa mara/* 'For what?' */rōtia mara/* 'for the sake of bread', */paṇie mara/* 'for the sake of water'.

/-ḍolla/ is the condition marker. As a noun it is used :

/tēri kya ḍol/ or simply */kya ḍol/* 'How are you?'. */-ḍolla/* and */-ḍolle/* are used with pronouns as :

/Īsa ḍolla gāl nī bāṇni/. 'In this condition (this way) the matter is not to turn up'. */tĭs ḍollē kām nī hōṇa/* 'That way the work will not be done'.

/jĪs ḍollē tū kāmada tĪs ḍollē pūre nī pōṇe/ 'Which way you are working that way the success is not sure'.

/-kāḍē/ denotes the manner as */hōlē kāḍē glā/* 'Talk slowly'.

/maṣṭar hōlē kāḍē bī mārṇ tã bī mŪṇḍu jōre kāḍē ḍāḍḍe/
'(If) teachers beat slowly even then the boys cry aloud'.

/khāre kāḍē glāṇa kāṇe khāre kāḍē sŪṇṇa/

'To speak with nice manner and to hear with nice manner'.

/-bāl/, ~/-al/, ~/-bāl/ are the postpositions expressing possession and direction :

/mĭnjo bāl māte pēse hān/

'I possess a good amount of money',

/mĭnjo bāl ōṇneo/ 'Come towards me'. */māu al pŪttar kāṛtē kārīḍē kŪchre bōnda/* 'The son sits on the lap of mother time and again'.

/-bākhiḍē/ ~/-bākkhē/ ~/-bākhi/ ~/-bākh/ denote the direction as :

/jāgte bākhi dĪkhneo/ 'Please see towards the child'.

/tĪsā mēre bākkhē bōa/ 'Please sit along with me'.

/sārṇ gāi bākhiḍē nĪk!i gēa/ 'The snake passed near the cow'.

/tāṛ/ 'for' is very common in use as :

/khāṇe tāṛ pēlacāṅga kāṇe kāmāṇe tāṛ nākhiḍ/

'In order to eat he is alright but nil to do some work'.

/sābnā tāṛ kĪch nā kĪch kāmāṇe tāṛ hōnda/

'For all something is to be done'.

ADVERBS

In a hurried style of action the adverbs are used as follows :

/stabbi/, */chōṛ/*, */tūrt phūrt/*, */tōlē/*, */kālīlē/*. The popular expression */stabbi/* is used as a noun and as an adverb :

/mīnjo stabbi thī/ 'I was in a hurry'.

/mīnjo stābia di gāl thī/ 'I had an urgent matter'.

/stabbi pāṛ kāne līkh/ 'Read and write soon'.

The style of speech in a hurry is :

/stabbi glā/ 'Speak at once', */stabbi cāl/* 'Move fast', */stabbi stabbi cūk/* 'Lift as fast as you can'.

In a style of slow speech the adverbs */hōlē/*, */gōlē/* are used as :

/hōlē pūrk/ 'Mutter slowly'. */gōlē gōlē cāl/* 'Go slowly'.

In a careful state the adverbs are used as :

/dīkheā jūgti/ 'See carefully'. */cij bāst thōlē thōlē thēṇi/* 'Keep the goods and chattles carefully'.

/thōlē glāna thōlē kamaṇa khāra hōnda/ 'It is good to speak carefully and work carefully'.

VERB

The style of speech with the auxiliary verb is very simple in Kāṅgarī. The singular */ē/* and plural */hān/* occur alike in all persons and genders as :

Singular */ē/* 'is, art, are, am' :

/sé khāra mānu ē/ 'He is a good man'.

/tū khāra mānu ē/ 'You are a good man'.

/mē khāra mānu ē/ 'I am a good man'.

/īk jUaṇs khāri ē/ 'One lady is good'.

Plural */hān/* 'are' :

/sé khāre mānu hān/ 'They are good men'.

/tūsā khāre mānu hān/ 'You are good men'.

/āsā khāre mānu hān/ 'We are good men'.

/tūsā khāriā jUaṇsā hān/ 'You are good ladies'.

/chē jUaṇsā khāriā hān/ 'Six ladies are good'.

POTENTIAL FORMATION

Stylistically the agent potential form occurs in the analytico-synthetic structure. Two verb forms are syncopated by elision of the final vowel of the first verb form and the initial /h/ of the auxiliary verb.

/kāri hōṇa/ 'an analytical form becomes */krōṇa/* in a synthetic form.

/tētte mātā kām nī kārōṇa/ 'By you much work cannot be done, i.e. you cannot do much work.'

/tēri gāl mīṇjo nī saṇḍi/ 'Your talk is not audible to me.'

/jītṇe chōru tē phānnē tītṇe mētte nī phāṇḍe/ 'As many urchins you have beaten so many cannot be beaten by me'.

In this style another forms occur as */cālī hōṇa=cālōṇa/* 'to be able to go'.

/hāssi hōṇa/=hāsōṇa/ 'to be able to laugh'.

/māri hōṇa/=mārōṇa/ 'to be killed'.

In such a make shift style the following other forms of verbs are common in Kāṅgarī :

/khāra kārna/ becomes */khārēṇa/* 'to make one stand' as used in the sentence :

/hāṭ tījo ītṭhu khārēṇa ē/ 'I have to make you stand here'.

/tāṭta~tāp kārna/ becomes */tāpēṇa/* :

/bōṭṛē paṇi tāpēṇa ē/ 'The cook has to make water hot'.

/pīḍḍa kārna/ becomes */pāḍēṇa/* 'to tighten'.

/kāmmē māṇja pāḍēṇa thā/ 'The servant had to tighten the cot'.

/sīḍḍa kārna/ becomes */sāḍēṇa/* 'to make achievement, to set right' :

/sābṇā āṇa āṇa kām sāḍēṇa hōṇa/ 'All have to do their business, i.e. all have an axe to grind'.

In a typical style some verb forms occur in free variation as the transitive verb forms of */mar/* in masculine singular are : */mārea~mārea~mōea~mōea/* and an address form is */mōa/*.

The feminine singular forms are : */māri~mōi~mōio/* and in an address form */mūi~mīe~mī/*. The durative mode presents a speciality with the forms */cāllada/*, */mārada/*, */gāda/*, */khāda/*, */kārada/* etc. The examples are :

/bīṭṭi khāra gadi/ 'The girl is singing good'.

/mūṇḍu hōlē cāllada/ 'The boy is going slow'.

In the imperative mode ordinary plural */kāra/* 'do' */khā/* 'eat', */lāa/* 'take' etc. are styled in a polite way with the ending */-neo/* as */kārneo/*, */khāanneo/*, */lāanneo/* etc.

/rāti kī cākhneo pāla/ 'Taste a little please'.

/pōthia lēanneo jūgti/ 'Take the book carefully please'.

/tā tūā dīkhneo īmiki/ 'Please see here and there a little while'.

The high falling tone occurs in the root when these forms are uttered in slow speech as :

/lēanneo/ 'Take please', */dīanneo/* 'Give please'. */ōanneo/* 'Come please' etc.

SYNTAX

The process in the syntax is presented in the four categories of phrases : noun phrase including substantives, adjectives and pronouns, verbal phrase, postpositional phrase and adverbial phrase. This structure of phrases leads to the structure of clauses of two types simple and complex.

Some specialities are presented here :

The behaviour with the style of speech is very simple in Kāngarī :

/hāũ sé phānnea/ 'I beat him'.

The order can be changed in the sentence without the change of meanings as : */sé hāũ phānnea/*.

But sometimes the emphasis or tone plays part to change the meaning with the violation of order :

/mē tū phānnea/ 'I beat You'.

If the order is violated with the tone or emphasis the meaning is different :

/tū mē phānnea/ 'You beat me'.

/kājō glānde/ 'What to speak ?' The frequent style of speech covers chain of ideas in description without any comment.

/mākha/ 'I said' the minimum sentence is spoken time and again in anticipation of the description of the matter. */mākha sūn/* 'I said (You) listen !'

Even it is used in a careless speech as :

/mākha mē kya glāea/ 'I said what did I say ?'

In the style of */sūkhsant/*, i.e. mutual welfare conversation the sentence occurs from simple one to complex one as the tempo follows low and high as :

/khāra byā hōea bāri kammi gōri cītī lāmmi cāmmi prōṇēā pāccheā da adr khātr kārne ali sābnā sārbandiā di pūchgIch kārne ali lāri bhaggā prent jūrī, sānjog khāra mīlla, pālmaṇs ē. Īsa c kōi chākke pānje ali gāl i nī. na chāl kāpt ē. jē glāṇa sē kāmāṇa ē. tāi tā kūsī jo kōi kīch lā trōṭṭa nī ē.

"Well, the marriage was celebrated. Good working, fair complexioned, tall, hospitable to the guests, asking welfare of all kith and kin (such a) bride was found with fortune. Good chance happened. (She) is honest. She does not indulge in a shilly-shally. She is bereft of deceit and cheat. Whatever is said that is done. That is why no one has any grudge against her (in gain or loss)".

IDIOMATIC AND PROVERBIAL STYLE

The idiomatic style is adopted in a happy-go-lucky fashion of speech. It is difficult to elicit the exact reply from a jolly fellow. If any request is made for the simple performance of duty the prompt reply is made :

/lābrūā tā kīch nī lāgda pār bābruā māta kīch lāgda/

(On) lips indeed nothing costs but (on) fried cakes costs much, i.e. bare words buy no barley.

The nature of a miser fellow is depicted towards his guest as :

[bēri bi uār kāne pāt bi tyar]

'The boat is ready on this shore and the meals are also ready, i.e. hurry up to catch the boat and don't mind your meals'. Satirically we get rid of you.

A poor life this is full of cares when the expression is made :

[jīndeā jo dāngā kāne mōēā jo bāngā]

(Beating with) canes to the living ones and long calls (in weeping) to the dying ones (is the irony of fate).

Life in danger is expressed with the idioms as *[phūk pātre c]* 'breath on a leaf', *[kālī phūk]* 'breath in trouble to depart', *[āmrē chīṇḍa pāṇa]* 'to make hole in the sky, to cry a lot'.

The style of presentation of son-in-law in Kāṅgaṛī has become a proverbial saying as :

*[dūr jUai phūlle sái pār jUai ádda,
kār jUai gáde bārābar jā jīu bōlle lādda]*

The son-in-law is just like a flower if he is far away (in foreign). If the son-in-law is near (in country) he is half (as compared to flowery respect). Lo ! the son-in-law while stay-at-home is like an ass. When desired he can be harnessed to carry burden.

The full satisfaction in life is expressed by the saying :

[pāgUān jīā rēkkhe tīā rēṇa]

We should live on as God keeps. The world is too complex to be trapped in our style.

In the words of Antoine Roquentin, the hero of Sartres' *La Nausée*, the word remains on the speakers lips and refuses to go and rest upon the thing, making language and absurd medley of sounds and symbols beyond which flows the world—an incommunicable chaos.

This way the style of speech is in variation with reference to the interpersonal tension between speaker and listener, ranging from most formal to most spontaneous as in a familiar discourse.

QUADRILATERAL AND ITS THIRD DIAGONAL

PARMANAND SINGH

1. Introduction

After Bhāskara II (c. 1150 A.D.) the most important name in the field of Hindu mathematics is that of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita who flourished in the 14th century A.D. and wrote his Arithmetic, entitled Gaṇita-kaumudī, in the year 1356 A.D. He made many notable contributions in the realm of mathematics which are exciting as well as thrilling. In the present paper, light will be thrown on his concept of the third diagonal of a cyclic quadrilateral and its application in the mensuration of that figure.

2. Third diagonal definition

In the adjoining figure, ABCD is a cyclic quadrilateral in which $AB=a$, $BC=b$, $CD=c$ and $DA=d$. Let us denote it by a, b, c, d .

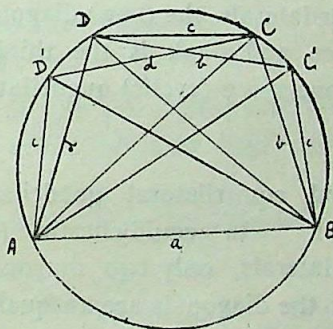


FIG 1

This quadrilateral, as is well known, has two diagonals AC and BD. Brahmagupta (c. 628 A.D.) gave the following formulae for the lengths of these diagonals¹:

$$AC = \sqrt{\frac{(ad+bc)(ac+bd)}{ab+cd}},$$

$$BD = \sqrt{\frac{(ab+cd)(ac+bd)}{ad+bc}}.$$

1. *Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*, xii. 28.

The same formulae reappear in the writings of later Hindu mathematicians including Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita as well.

If we form a new quadrilateral ABC'D by interchanging the sides b and c , then we see that its diagonal BD does not undergo any change, but AC' differs from AC in length. For,

$$AC' = \sqrt{\frac{(ad+bc)(ab+cd)}{ac+bd}}.$$

Similarly, if we form a quadrilateral ABCD' by interchanging the sides c and d , then again we see that its diagonal AC does not undergo any change while BD' differs from BD in length. For,

$$BD' = \sqrt{\frac{(ad+bc)(ab+cd)}{ac+bd}}.$$

It is noteworthy that $AC' = BD'$. According to Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, this is the third diagonal of the quadrilateral ABCD. He further points out that the interchange of two sides of the quadrilatera (a, b, c, d) can yield the above mentioned three diagonals only.

Nārāyaṇa writers :

"In all (cyclic) quadrilaterals, the (new) diagonal obtained by the interchange of its face and flank is the third diagonal. Thus there are three diagonals in a (cyclic) quadrilateral"².

He further says :

"In equilateral and equirilateral quadrilaterals, the three diagonals are equal. In equidichastic ($a=c, b=d$) and equibilateral quadrilaterals, only two diagonals are equal. In other quadrilaterals, the diagonals are unequal"³.

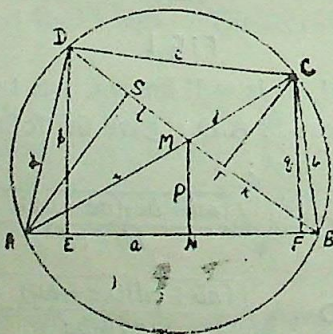


Fig 2

2. *Gaṇita-kaumudī, Kṣetra-vyavahāra*, R. 48.

3. *Ibid.* R. 49-50($a-b$),

3. Notations

In what follows, the following notations will be used in relation to the cyclic quadrilateral ABCD or a, b, c, d :

e = first diagonal AC

f = second diagonal BD

g = third diagonal

p = altitude DE

q = altitude CF

P = altitude of diagonal intersection point

R = circum-radius (*hṛdaya-rajju* or heart-line)

D = circum-diameter

i = lower segment AM of the first diagonal

j = upper segment MC of the first diagonal

k = lower segment BM of the second diagonal

l = upper segment MD of the second diagonal.

4. Area

Brahmagupta and other later writers have prescribed the following formula for the area of the (cyclic) quadrilateral a, b, c, d :

$$A = \sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)},$$

where $2s = a + b + c + d$.

The concept of the third diagonal has enabled Nārāyaṇa to state the formula in the following elegant forms :

$$A = \frac{e}{4R}(ab + cd) = \frac{f}{4R}(ad + bc) = \frac{g}{4R}(ac + bd) \dots (1)$$

$$A = \frac{efg}{2D} \text{ or } \frac{efg}{4R} \dots (2)$$

Nārāyaṇa says :

“Multiply the diagonal by the sum of the product of the sides standing on it (on either side) and divide by four times the circum-radius : the result is the area in the case of equilateral and other quadrilaterals”⁴.

“The product of the three diagonals divided by twice the diameter (of the circum-circle) is the area (of the cyclic quadrilateral)”⁵.

4. Ibid. R. 134(a—d).

5. Ibid. R. 52(a—b).

Proof : Area of quadrilateral ABCD = $\triangle ABC + \triangle CDA$
 $= \frac{1}{2}ab \sin B + \frac{1}{2}cd \sin D$
 $= \frac{1}{2}(ab+cd) \sin B$, for $D=\pi-B$
 $= \frac{1}{2}(ab+cd) \frac{e}{2R}$, for in any triangle
 $\frac{b}{\sin B} = 2R$
 $= \frac{e}{4R} (ab+cd)$ or $\frac{e}{4R} fg$.

5. Circum-radius

Since, from (2), $A = \frac{efg}{4R}$, therefore

$$R = \frac{efg}{4A} \quad \dots (3)$$

$$\text{and } g = \frac{4RA}{ef} \quad \dots (4)$$

Nārāyaṇa says :

"The product of the three diagonals divided by four times the area is the circum-radius"⁶.

"The area multiplied by four times the circum-radius and divided by (the product of) the diagonals certainly gives the third diagonal which is obtained by interchanging its face and flank"⁷.

6. Segments of diagonals

Nārāyaṇa writes :

"Take the product of the sides standing on a diagonal (on either side). Severally divide these products by their sum, and multiply the quotients obtained by the other diagonal : the results are the segments of the other diagonal by the former"⁸.

That is :

$$\left. \begin{aligned} i &= \frac{ad}{ad+bc} e, & j &= \frac{bc}{ad+bc} e, \\ k &= \frac{ab}{ab+cd} f, & l &= \frac{cd}{ab+cd} f. \end{aligned} \right\} \quad (5)$$

6. Ibid. R. 138(a-b).

7. Ibid. R. 136.

8. Ibid. R. 138(c-d).

Nārāyaṇa further says :

“Divide the base and the face severally by the third diagonal, and multiply the quotients by the flank sides : the results are the lower and upper segments of the other diagonals”⁹.

That is :

$$\left. \begin{aligned} i &= \frac{a}{g} d, & j &= \frac{c}{g} b, \\ k &= \frac{a}{g} b, & l &= \frac{c}{g} d. \end{aligned} \right\} \quad (6)$$

Proof : Let AS and CT be perpendiculars on BD. Then comparing the similar triangles ASM and CTM,

$$\frac{AS}{CT} = \frac{i}{j} \quad \dots \quad (i)$$

And since D is the circum-diameter of triangles BCD and BAD, therefore

$$D = \frac{bc}{CT} = \frac{ad}{AS} \quad \dots \quad (ii)$$

From (i) and (ii) :

$$\frac{i}{ad} = \frac{j}{bc} = \frac{i+j}{ad+bc} \quad \text{or} \quad \frac{e}{ad+bc},$$

$$\therefore i = \frac{ad}{ad+bc} e, \quad j = \frac{bc}{ad+bc} e.$$

Similarly,

$$k = \frac{ab}{ab+cd} f, \quad l = \frac{cd}{ab+cd} f.$$

Further, since $ad+bc=eg$ and $ab+cd=fg$, therefore

$$\begin{aligned} i &= \frac{ad}{g}, & j &= \frac{bc}{g}, \\ k &= \frac{ab}{g}, & l &= \frac{cd}{g}. \end{aligned}$$

7. Altitudes

Nārāyaṇa says :

“Twice the area divided by the product of the base and the diagonal multiplied by the lower segment (of the diagonal)

9. Ibid. R. 139.

gives the altitudes touching the tip of the (other) diagonal, in the case of equilateral and other quadrilaterals"¹⁰.

That is :

$$\left. \begin{aligned} p &= \frac{2Ai}{ae}, \\ q &= \frac{2Ak}{af}. \end{aligned} \right\} \dots \quad (7)$$

Nārāyaṇa further says :

"Or, severally multiply the two diagonals by the lower segments of each other ; then multiply the results by the third diagonal as divided by the product of twice the base and the circum-radius : the results are the altitudes"¹¹.

That is :

$$\left. \begin{aligned} p &= fi \times \frac{g}{2aR}, \\ q &= ek \times \frac{g}{2aR}. \end{aligned} \right\} \dots \quad (8)$$

Proof : Results (7) follow from the formulae :

$$D = \frac{df}{p} = \frac{be}{q}, \quad A = \frac{efg}{2D}, \quad i = \frac{ad}{g}, \quad k = \frac{ab}{g}$$

and results (8) are obtained from (7) by substituting $A = \frac{efg}{4R}$.

8. Altitude of diagonal-intersection point and segments of base

Nārāyaṇa writes :

"Multiply the product of the lower segments of the diagonals by the product of the flanks, divide the square-root thereof by twice the circum-radius : the result is (the length of) the perpendicular dropped from the junction of the diagonals (on the base)"¹².

That is :

$$P = \frac{(bd.ik)^{\frac{1}{2}}}{2R}. \quad \dots \quad (9)$$

10. Ibid. R. 140.

11. Ibid. R. 141.

12. Ibid. R. 142.

Nārayaṇa further says :

“Severally subtract the squares of the flanks from the square of the diameter (of the circum-circle) and divide the square-roots thereof by the corresponding flanks: these are the so-called components. The base divided by the sum of these components gives the perpendicular from the junction of the diagonals. This multiplied by the components gives the segments of the base by the perpendicular dropped from the junction of the diagonals”¹³.

That is :

$$P = \frac{a}{\frac{\sqrt{D^2 - b^2}}{b} + \frac{\sqrt{D^2 - d^2}}{d}} \quad \dots \quad (10)$$

$$\left. \begin{aligned} AN &= \frac{P \cdot \sqrt{D^2 - b^2}}{b} \\ NB &= \frac{P \cdot \sqrt{D^2 - d^2}}{d} \end{aligned} \right\} \quad \dots \quad (11)$$

Proof of (9) : From similar triangles AMN and ACF :

$$\begin{aligned} P &= \frac{qi}{e} \\ &= \frac{i}{e} \cdot \frac{ekg}{2aR}, \text{ using (8)} \\ &= \frac{ikg}{2aR} \\ \therefore P^2 &= \frac{ik \cdot ik \cdot g^2}{4a^2 R^2} \\ &= \frac{ad}{g} \cdot \frac{ab}{g} \cdot \frac{ikg^2}{4a^2 R^2} \\ &= \frac{bdik}{4R^2} \\ \therefore P &= \frac{(bdik)^{\frac{1}{2}}}{2R} \end{aligned}$$

13. Ibid. R. 142-43(a-b), pp. 182-83.

FIG. 3

$$AN = \frac{MN \cdot A'B}{BC} = \frac{P \cdot \sqrt{D^2 - b^2}}{b}.$$
$$NB = \frac{P \cdot \sqrt{D^2 + d^2}}{d}$$
$$a = \frac{P \cdot \sqrt{D^2 - b^2}}{b} + \frac{P \cdot \sqrt{D^2 - d^2}}{d} \dots$$
$$P = \frac{\frac{a}{\sqrt{D^2 - b^2}}}{\frac{b}{d} + \frac{\sqrt{D^2 - d^2}}{d}}.$$

"Multiply the product of the segments of the triangle taken, by the third diagonal, and divide by four times the circumradius : the result is the area of that triangle"¹⁴.

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That is :

$$\left. \begin{aligned} \text{Area MAB} &= \frac{ikg}{4R} \\ \text{Area MBC} &= \frac{kjg}{4R} \end{aligned} \right\}, \quad \left. \begin{aligned} \text{Area MCD} &= \frac{jlg}{4R} \\ \text{Area MDA} &= \frac{lig}{4R} \end{aligned} \right\} \quad (12)$$

These results are obvious. For example :

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Area MDA} &= \frac{\text{MD} \cdot \text{AS}}{2} = \frac{1}{2}l \cdot \left(\frac{ad}{2R} \right), \text{ because } 2R = \frac{ad}{\text{AS}} \text{ (Fig. 2)} \\ &= l \left(\frac{ad}{g} \right) \left(\frac{g}{4R} \right) \\ &= \frac{lig}{4R}. \end{aligned}$$

Before I conclude I should like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. K.S. Shukla, Professor of Mathematics (Retd.), Lucknow University, for his guidance and help.

THE COLOUR CONCEPT OF A DEITY

U. N. DHAL

Hindu divinities are conceived to be supernatural in behaviour but human in form and feeling. They are anthropomorphic in form and are attributed with multiple hands and heads. They are painted in different colours. Out of the various base-materials used for image making like gold, silver, copper, brass, stone, wood and clay, images made out of stone, wood and clay needed the painting most.

The tradition of colouring an image with definite colour has been very old. Like other wooden images, the icons of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadra made of wood, enshrined in the main sanctum at Puri in Orissa, continue to be painted with black, white and yellow colour respectively upto now. The early painting of stone images with appropriate colour may be due to these wooden counterparts, but it does not appear to be in vogue. On the other hand the colouring of clay images appears to be widespread and continues as usual.

The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa¹ (VidhP. pt. III) seeks to furnish the fullest account hitherto unknown of the various methods and ideals of Indian painting. Besides speaking of different colours used in Nāṭya in the section on painting it (ibid. III. 44-85) deals with the formation of more than eighty images painted with different colours. Initially it (III ch. 27) lays down the primary colours numbering five only. They include white (*śveta*), red (*rakta*), yellow (*pita*), soot or black (*kṛṣṇa*), and green (*harita*), and due to intermixture of these colours other multiple colours were formed. The white (*gaura*) is divided into five kinds whereas the black (*śyama*) into twelve kinds. These primary as well as secondary colours were used for painting images. Except a few images painted green (*padmapatradalābha*, *padmapatrābha*) or golden-yellow (*rukmaḥbha*, *camikarābha*), other images are prescribed to be painted with the

1. Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, pt. III. Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, V.S. 1969 (1913) — tr. by Stella Kramrisch, Calcutta University Press, Calcutta, 1928.

primary colours like white, red or black. They can be broadly grouped according to their colour thus : Deities like Indra, the Moon, Dharma, Balarāma, Mahāviṣṇu, Mahī, Nandā and Sarasvatī are to be painted white ; Agni, the Sun, Rudra, Brahmā and Vināyaka are to be painted red ; Annapūrṇā, Kālī, Bhūtamātā, Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, Yama and Śani etc. are said to be black in colour.

In view of different colour of deities, the question automatically arises as what the purpose behind such a change is ! Does the colour arouse any feeling in the mind, thereby affirming the quality of the deity or has it any other purpose behind ? No doubt the problem is many-sided. Let us try to solve the riddle in our humble way.

The explanations furnished by different authorities may be divided into two categories : one group advocates the reflection of the colour in the common mind and the aesthetic sense it creates. And the other group tries to interpret the colour symbolism from mystical point of view which would appeal only to those trained in that line. Thus one is sensual or psychological and the other is mystical in approach. Former is real and the latter ideal in character.

Among the earlier evidences it is the Chāndogyopaniṣad² (6.4.1) which speaks of three colours perceived through the sense organ. The three colours are found in Agni, the red being predominant there ; similarly the white is predominant in water although other two are also present there and the black colour is prominent in the earth and the other two are absorbed in it. These colours are explained as signifying the three primordial elements, viz. Fire (*tejah*), Water (*āpah*) and Earth (*annam*).

The other popular evidence is recorded in the verse of the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad³ (IV. 5). As it contained problems relating to different systems of philosophy, it formed the bone of contention between the Vedāntins and the Sāṅkhya philosophers for a long time.

2. Chāndogyopaniṣad, ed. by Swami Svabananda, 2nd ed., Mylapore Madras, 1965. *yadagne rohitam rūpam tejastadrūpam yacchuklam tadapam yat-kṛṣṇam tadannasypāgādagneragnitvam vūcārambhaṇam vikāro nāmadheyam trīṇi rūpāṇītyeva satyam.* (VI. 4. 1).

3. Śvetāśvataropaniṣad, ed. by Swami Tyagisananda, 6th ed., Mylapore, Madras, 1971 :

ajāmekam lohitaśuklakṛṣṇam bahvīḥ prajāḥ sṛjamaṇām sarūpāḥ. (IV. 5a).

In course of describing the Brahman as the individual and the highest soul, it is said that the "one unborn being (female) red, white and black in colour produces manifold offspring". The Vedāntins⁴ interpret it as 'the existent' and its products like fire, water and earth as like the Chāndogyaopaniṣad passage quoted above. But the Sāṅkhyavādins⁵ turn the wheel in another direction. They try to identify the unborn with *Prakṛti* or nature and three different colours representing three *guṇas* or constituents of *Prakṛti* known as *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. According to them *Prakṛti* combines in her these three *guṇas*, the *sattva* is considered to be buoyant and illuminating, *rajas* to be stimulating and active and the *tamas* to be sluggish and enveloping. And *sattva* is represented through white colour, *rajas* through red colour and *tamas* through black colour. Thus the characteristics of the *guṇas* are very well illustrated in visible colours. It may be, this colour symbolism was at the root of painting images and this idea prompted the author of the Śukranītisāra⁶ (I. 4. 4. 156) to include the image painted in white into *sāttvikī*, in yellow or red to *rājasī* and in black to *tāmasī* group.

Among the authorities dealing with the colour symbolism, Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra may be taken into consideration. As Nāṭya was aimed at producing various sentiments the expressive colour of each sentiment (*rasa*) is described therein. Accordingly the erotic sentiment (*śṛṅgāra*) is to be painted in dark hue (*śyāma*), the comic sentiment in white (*sita*) the pathetic in grey (*kapota*) the terrible sentiment in black (*kṛṣṇa*), the odious in blue (*nīla*) and the marvelous in yellow (*pīta*) colour⁷. And the colours so used are believed to

4. *The Brahmasūtra Śāṅkara bhāṣya*, vol. I, ed. by K.L. Joshi, 1st ed., Ahmedabad, 1981, 1.4.8-10,

5. *The Tattvakaumudī*, tr. by G. Jha, 2nd ed., Poona, 1957, p. 30ff; of *The Sāṅkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, ed. by S.S.S. Sastri, reprint, Madras, 1973; *Bhagavadgītā*, ch. XIV. 6-8.

6. *Śvetā smṛtā sāttvikī tu pītā rakta tu rājasī, tāmasī kṛṣṇavarṇā tu hyuktalakṣmayutā yadi. Śukranītisāra*, vol. I, ed. by Gustav Oppert, Madras, 1832, ch. IV, 4 prakaraṇa, 156;

Brāhmī tu rājasī mūrtistasya sarvapravartinī. Sāttvikī vaiṣṇavī jñeyā saṁsāraparipālī, tāmasī ca tathā raudrī jñeyā saṁharakārīnī.

VidhP., III. 44.3b-4.

7. *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni, vol. I, ed. by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, 2nd ed., Baroda, 1956, ch. VI. 42-45; *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha Kavirāja ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, 6th ed., Calcutta, 1905, ch. III.

convey qualities peculiar to that sentiment. Each sentiment represented by one particular colour is presided over by one deity. So Viṣṇu is the presiding deity of the erotic sentiment, Pramatha of the comic, Rudra of the furious, Yama of the pathetic, Mahākāla of the odious, Kāla of the terrible, Mahendra of the heroic and Brahmā of the marvelous.

The VidhP. (pt. III. 27) dealing with colours appears to have borrowed verbatim from Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra. It shows how painting was based on Nāṭya. It was believed that it would be difficult to comprehend *citra* without Nāṭya — *vina tu nāṭyaśāstreṇa citrasūtram sudurvidam*, (ibid. III. 2. 3.) ; because painting is only one scene of Nāṭya whereas Nāṭya is a succession of painting. Nāṭya aims at arousing various sentiments in the minds of the audience.

Out of the three colours selected for discussion, the white appears to be very popular. Modern theory⁸ of colour regards white as achromatic, which means literally uncoloured colour. It is formed due to the mixture of green, blue and red, and is, therefore, a compound of colours. Sāṅkhyavādins accept it as the representation of *sattva* quality. The connoisseurs of art speak of the *Vaiṣṇavī* images to be *sattvikī* and white in colour. Whatever is pure and auspicious in nature is represented through this colour. Sarasvatī, the presiding deity of learning is believed to be all white.

Bharata and others attribute white colour to comic sentiment and take Pramatha, as its presiding deity. Probably Pramatha was uncouth in form and so arousing laughter in others. They further assign yellowish-white (*gaura*) colour to Indra, the tutelary deity of heroic sentiment. The author of the Vidh P. mentions five divisions of white (*gaura*) colour. The *gaura* of Bharata can very well be taken as the same as *sveta* and *rukma gaurī* of the VidhP.

The red is significant from different standpoint. As it is a symbol of *rajoguna* the images of *rājasī* type are painted red. It signifies creativity and action and points to the function of Brahmā, the creator :

*arunaṁ rajasā varṇaṁ tena padmāgrasannibhaḥ,
Brahmā devavaro jñeyas sarvabhūta namaskṛtaḥ.*

(VidhP. II. 46. 7)

8. A Steinhilber, *The nine colours of the rainbow*, tr. by David Sobolev, Moscow, 1966.

The red is the colour of *tejas* (light). So the images of Fire, the Sun are painted red. Rudra is very wellknown as a malevolent deity in the Vedas. His power of harming animals as well as men is very well illustrated through this colour.

Like white, the black and grey are not true colours. When purple, yellow and blue-green rays are subtracted from white light, we get black colour. It presents the absence of light substance. While learning is conceived to be white, non-learning or absence of knowledge is of dark colour — *vidyā śuklā vinirdiṣṭa kṛṣṇam ajñānam ucyate*, (VidhP. III. 47. 5a). The universe is regarded as the transformation (*vikṛti*) of the supreme being. All transformation consists of black colour (*kṛṣṇa*), through that the sustenance of worldly life is possible :

sarvā ca vikṛtiḥ kṛṣṇa tena saṁsārapālanam.

kṛṣṇarūpam sa bhagavān vidhatte bhūtabhāvanah,

(VidhP. III. 47. 1b-2a)

While Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) in his unembodied form (*nirākāra*) is white, and in his embodied form (*sakāra*) he is black.

All sorts of dark or dangerous qualities in nature are painted black, a colour that represents *tamogūṇa*. In iconographical texts, Yama is always made black. Though Yama is identified with Saṅkarṣaṇa, he assumes *tamasī* form for the destruction of the (wicked) people with a view to maintaining the moral law. Yama is also said to be resembling the colour of the blue lotus (black or grey) :

yamam saṁkarṣaṇam viddhi tamasīm tanumāśritam.

maryādāpālanārthaya lokasaṁharakāraṇam,

nilotpaladalacchāyas tamasatvāt prakīrtitaḥ.

(VidhP. III. 51. 7b-8)

Invariably all the deities causing destruction and death are painted black. This notion is evident even in the Buddhist tantric images. The Buddhist deity Krodharāja occupies a very prominent place in the Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa. Among all the awe-inspiring attributes heaped on him the one — his form, as black as the collyrium paste, dark cloud and smoke (*bhinnāñjana kṛṣṇameghasaṁkāśam*) — stands marked out⁹.

9. S. Chattopadhyaya, *Krodharāja* (A Buddhist deity in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*), *Proceedings of the all India oriental conference, XXIV Session, Varanasi, October 1968*, pp. 427-431.

THEFT IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ASSAM

JAI PRAKASH SINGH

It is commonly believed by most sections of the Assamese people today that theft was unknown in the earlier periods of the province. They also believe that the settlers from the mainland of the country are responsible for introducing theft and such other offences into the Brahmaputra Valley. We propose in this short paper to discuss that theft was not all that unknown in Assam in the earlier periods of its history.

I. It is clear from the available evidence that theft was a recognised form of crime in all periods of Assamese history. The inscriptions of the ancient kings of Assam indicate that theft was fairly common in the region. With a view to curbing this menace of the thieves of various kinds, they maintained such officers as *Danḍika*, *Danḍapāśika* and *Cauroddharanika*¹ etc. *Caṭas* and *Bhaṭas*² are also mentioned. Of these possibly the *Danḍika* and *Danḍapāśika* were connected with the department of law and justice. *Cauroddharanika* possibly was an officer especially appointed to apprehend thieves. The *Caṭa* and *Bhaṭa* of the records of Assam are the same as *Cāṭa* and *Bhaṭa* of the records of the mainland of the country. Sircar takes *Bhaṭa* as a constable and *Cāṭa* as the leader of a group of constables³. That thieves were there in ancient Kamarupa is indicated by yet another evidence. The Gauhati grant of Indrapāla determining the boundaries of the donated land refers to one as *Koṣṭhamakkhiyana-villapūrvvaḥ*⁴. The first part of this compound word — *Koṣṭhamakkhiyana* is taken to indicate 'a passage of the granary thief'⁵. It shows that theft of paddy, was perhaps

1. M. M. Sharma, *Inscriptions of Assam (IA)*, Gauhati, 1978, pp. 132, 146, 159, 183, 213, 228, 245, 259 etc.

2. Ibid. p. 280.

3. D. C. Sircar, *Indian epigraphy*, p. 361.

4. M. M. Sharma, *IA*, line 53, p. 185.

5. B. K. Barua, *A cultural history of Assam*, Gauhati, 1969, p. 230.

more common and frequent. It does not, however, mean that theft of other objects' was not known. The Kamauli grant of king Vaidyadeva condemns the stealing of a cow, a gold coin or even half a finger of land⁶. Thus, besides grains, cattle and valuable objects⁷ including gold coins were commonly stolen. Unauthorised occupation of land was also included in this category.

All these references to the officers and employees of the government, taken together with other instances indicate that different kind of thefts were committed by thieves. We do not know, however, the kind of punishment that was given to such offenders in ancient Assam.

II. Modern historians have not touched upon theft in medieval Assam in specific terms. According to Gait "the criminal law was characterised by the sternness and comparative harshness"⁸. It seems that 'there was no fixed or written' Ahom law⁹. The Ahoms initially administered justice in accordance with their customs and traditions¹⁰. Later they also followed principles of Hindu Law, which was already prevalent in the region. Theft, robbery, adultery, abduction, murder, and treachery are 'enumerated or otherwise recognised crimes'¹¹. Francis Hamilton with regard to minor crimes states that "except the gang from Bengal, there are few robbers and atrocious house-breakers or pirates. Such persons are punished in a summary manner thrusting out their eyes, or by cutting off the knee pans. The wretches usually die of the latter operation, but survive the former. Both punishments are inflicted by the sole order of the Chief Minister in Assam proper, or of the Governor of two other provinces. Petty thefts are very common, and are punished by whipping or

6. M.M. Sharma, *IA*, pp. 282, 287.

7. The stealing of the ear-rings of Aditi, the mother of the gods, by Naraka is referred to in the Tezpur, Parbatiya, Uttarbarbil, Nowgong, Bargaon, and Gachtal grants etc. cf. M.M. Sharma, *IA*, pp. 97 (V. 3), 116 (V. 3), 129 (V. 4), 143-44 (V. 4), 155 (V. 4) and 209 (V. 7) respectively.

8. E.A. Gait, *A history of Assam* (rev.), Cal., 1963, p. 254.

9. N.N. Acharya, *The history of medieval Assam*, Gauhati, 1966, p. 126.

10. *Ibid.* p. 125.

11. *Ibid.* p. 126.

by cutting off the nose or ears. The first punishment may legally be inflicted by any considerable officer, such as a Raja or Phukon ; but the two latter can only be inflicted by the Chief Judge of the district"¹². Hamilton's account reflects the administration of justice in probably the latter part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century Assam.¹³ Hence, this cannot be taken as wholly valid for the medieval period of Assam under the Ahom rule.

III. It is in this context that the instances of petty thefts listed in the Ahom Buranji assume significance. The scholars dealing with crime and punishment in the Ahom period usually follow the statements of earlier scholars on different type of offences. Gait has not said anything about theft¹⁴, and subsequent historians follow Hamilton mostly with regard to this offence¹⁵. We, feel that the evidence of Ahom Buranji is very clear and can be used to determine at least the early Ahom attitude and policy towards this offence.

The first instance of theft is related possibly to explain the death of Ahom King Shuhanphā (c. 1488-93 A.D.). It is stated that three persons employed "to polish the bamboo pieces of the raised floor of the King's granary" stole paddy therefrom and were arrested¹⁶. It is not known as to how long they were in jail but possibly they were released after sometime, as one of these offenders is said to have later killed the King by piercing him with a pointed bamboo¹⁷. The other two instances of theft related to the stealing of animals. One of these, records the theft of twelve domestic animals of Hundarikanmethi, probably sometime after the accession of King Shujinphā (c. 1675-1677 A.D.). A *gaṇaka* is said to have seen the thief. He reported the matter to the King and to Burāgohāin, that Chaolā, the son of the

12. Francis Hamilton, *An account of Assam*, Gauhati, 1963, p. 50.

13. Hamilton's *An account of Assam* was compiled between 1807-1814.

14. E.A. Gait, *A history of Assam*, p. 254.

15. N.K. Basu, *Assam in the Ahom age*, Calcutta, 1970, pp 210-211.

16. *Ahom Buranji* (AB) tr. & ed. by G.C. Barua, p. 35, par. 4.

17. Ibid. *The Assam Buranji sārā*, ed. by P.C. Choudhury, Gauhati, 1964, p. 16 states that a Khuntai Ahom, at the instance of the Burāgohāin, killed the king by a pointed bamboo. The theft is not mentioned herein. Possibly it was not felt necessary by its author. Gait, *A history of Assam*, p. 86 ; Basu, *Assam in the Ahom age*, p. 22.

King Chaopha Shuhung, had stolen the animals of Methi¹⁸. The King ordered Dunaram Phukan to capture Chaolā and kill him¹⁹.

The other incidence of theft was reported to the king by Shupbānglāo, a domestic servant of the Pukhuriparia Burāgohāin, during the reign of King Supatpha or Gadādhār Simba (c. 1681-96 A.D.). He charged the 'Burāgohāin and some Lukhurākhun' for having stolen some stray animals from Dirai. He also informed the King that 'it was known (i.e. the act of stealing) to all the sons and grandsons of the Burāgohāin'.

All the sons and grandsons of the Burāgohāin were arrested and imprisoned in the Hāticharā. "They were asked if they had any knowledge of the matter. The elder brother of the Burāgohāin said 'we know of this. It is also known to the sons and grandsons of Bijulibaria and Metekatalia Bargohāins". The King got them too arrested and confined in the Hāticharā. Thereafter, the King sent Katakis to the Burāgohāin to ask if he was aware of the matter. The Burāgohāin replied that 'he was quite ignorant of the fact'²⁰.

Thereafter, the king told the sons and the grandsons of the Burāgohāin that "if persons, like you, be allowed to go with impunity, the country will be greatly imperilled". The king ordered 'executioners to put Lāngi Burāgohāin to death at his home. His sons and grandsons, were also killed. The sons and grandsons of Langu Bargohāin, the son of Tāmseng, one Kaliāgohāin, two or three of their brothers, and two of the family of Metekatalia Bargohāin were beheaded at Bāhbari'²¹.

Later, 'the two Lukhurākhun brothers, the real culprits' were arrested. In their defence they said "we have no domestic animals. We know nothing of the matter, we live on begging. In the day time,

18. *Ahom Buranji*, p. 251.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.* p. 268. *The Tungkhungia Buranji*, vol. II, tr by S.K. Bhuyan, Gauhati, 1968, p. 26, however, gives a slightly different version of the story. It shows that the Burāgohāin and the others were punished for sheltering some princes at Diroi. E.A. Gait, *A history of Assam*, p. 172, and N. K. Basu, *Assam in the Ahom age*, p. 55 following him accept the evidence of *Ahom Buranji* regarding the misappropriation of stray cattle by the new Burāgohāin.

21. *Ahom Buranji*, pp. 268-69.

we stayed in the graveyard or in a deep jungle. We live on public charity. We would not have lived so long, had we not been favoured by others alms. The people at large know that we are destitutes". But the king ordered his men to put them to death at Erātali²². The unfortunate Burāgohāin was the highest official of the state and this office is often equated with what of a Prime Minister²³.

These instances of theft relating to stealing of paddy and animals, are mentioned in the Buranji only because they are associated with a king, a prince, and a minister. Without this association of these dignitaries, none of these could have found mention in this or any other Buranji. Hence these instances of stealing, particularly the two latter ones, are of uncommon occurrence and as such may not represent common thefts, involving ordinary subjects.

The first instance of stealing involves some labourers²⁴. It is possible to assume that these people were caught red handed by guards posted at the granary, tried, punished and thereafter released. Their apprehension and punishment²⁵ enraged them so much that one of them later killed the king Shuhānpha.

The two other thefts refer to the stealing of animals. The offenders in both these cases are very important persons. The culprits in these cases too are arrested, an enquiry is made²⁶, if necessary, then on the basis of this enquiry, the king orders their execution. In both these cases the persons who report the matter to the king are not aggrieved persons even though in one of these, at least, there is

22. Ibid. p. 269.

23. Ibid. p 268. Burāgohāin was the seniormost official of the three Gohāins, and his position in the Ahom administration was next only to that of the king.

24. AB, p: 35. It is said that 'One Lantubān and two Khuntai Ahoms' were employed by Lapeti Phukan to polish the granary.

25. Ibid. The three thieves are said to have been arrested by the king but what punishment was given to them is not mentioned in the Buranji

26: No enquiry is referred to in the case of the theft of paddy possibly as the culprits were caught red-handed. Similarly an enquiry was not made in the theft involving prince Chaolā, as the culprit was seen stealing by the reporter *ganaka*.

an aggrieved party²⁷. In the other instance of cattle lifting 'stray animals' are reportedly stolen, as such there is no aggrieved party in this particular case, unless it is presumed that all unclaimed property belonged to the State, under the Ahom law. In the second instance of cattle lifting the persons who actually stole the animals are punished alongwith the high officer and the members of his family for whom they were stolen. Not only this, two other almost equally high officers, with members of their family were punished for their knowledge of this theft. Possibly, under the Ahom law suppression of an offence and not bringing it before the appropriate authority was considered equally grave a crime, hence they too were punished.

An analysis of the three cases enables us to reach the following general rules :

1. That a complaint could be made by an eye-witness, or anyone else who had a definite knowledge of the crime²⁸.
2. That offenders were arrested and confined in Hātisāra, (elephant stable) after a complaint was made.
3. That after arresting the offenders, if required, an enquiry was made by the king through an officer.
4. That the knowledge of a crime committed was either regarded as an equally grave offence or was supposed to be amounting to ones involvement in the crime²⁹.

27. Hundarikanmethi, whose animals are said to have been stolen by the prince:

28. In one instance of cattle lifting 'a *gaṇaka*' is stated to have seen prince Chaolā, the thief, whereas in the other instance a servant of a former Burāgohāin reports about the crime to the king. We do not know if this person, Shupbāṅlāo, too was an eye-witness. Perhaps, he was not an eye-witness, that is why his complaint refers to 'all the sons and grandsons of the Burāgohāin' as well as "all the sons and grandsons of Bijulibaria and Metekatalia Baragohāins" who are all said to have known this fact. Hence, they are all possibly cited as witness.

29. In the other case of cattle-lifting Burāgohāin and the two Lukhurākhun brothers, are principal accused. But the sons and grandsons of Burāgohāin and the two Bargohāins may be treated as not directly involved in the theft. But as they had the knowledge of the crime they two are supposedly involved in the act.

5. After making proper enquiries the king gave his judgement and necessary orders.
6. That all men were equal where administration of justice was concerned and no distinction was made between an ordinary offender and a high-born and highly placed one³⁰. Such offenders were given a more severe punishment as compared to an ordinary subject.
7. That stray animals were possibly regarded as state property³¹.

30: The high-born, and the highly placed officials were expected to set an example of good citizenship to the people at large. Thus the king is known to have said to the sons and grandsons of Burāghāin, that "if persons like you, be allowed to go with impunity, the country will be greatly imperilled", AB, 268.

31: Gait says that "the land and the subjects were equally the property of the state", (*A history of Assam*, p. 254). Elsewhere he opines that "in matters of land, Ahom kings...claimed that all land belonged to the crown. Not only did the king exercise this right over lands, cultivated or waste, but he extended his prerogative of ownership over all woods, forests, ferries, mines etc.", (*Ibid.* p. 270). It is possible to hold that just as 'all uncultivated lands' belonged to the king similarly all unclaimed cattle were also owned by him.

SOME EXTINCT MUGHAL GARDENS IN THE PUNJAB AND HARYANA

SUBHASH PARIHAR

Flowers and plants have been admired in India since very early time¹. The Buddhist literature and the Sanskrit plays have numerous references to gardens². This early tradition "in later times and in moister climates developed into the well-known charming landscape styles of China and Japan"³. But the splendid garden tradition which culminated under the great Mughals was introduced into India from Central Asia and Persia⁴. Here it inflected to new conditions without losing its essential characteristics⁵.

Gardening was a hobby with the Mughal Emperors and their Nobles. During the hightime of the empire the successive rulers, their wives and noble men laid out innumerable gardens in India. Of the gardens built during this time in the Punjab and Haryana, only two have survived to this day.

The first is at Sirhind (Patiala), known as Aam Khas Bagh. This extensive garden which according to Badaani⁶ had "no parallel in Hind", was planted by Sultan Hafiz Rakhna of Herat. During Akbar's reign he was the *Shikkdār* of Sirhind. Later beautiful buildings were added to the garden by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Under Aurangzeb's rule Sirhind attracted the wrath of the Sikhs who destroyed the city completely in 1763. It is, therefore, obvious that alongwith other buildings those at Aam Khas Bagh must also

1. C.M.V. Stuart, *Gardens of the great Mughals*, London, 1913, p. 3.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Sylvia Crome, The Persian background in *The Gardens of Mughal India*, Delhi, 1973, p. 21.

6. Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu't Tawārīkh*, vol. II, tr. by W. H. Lowe, Delhi, 1973, pp. 393-94.

have suffered at the hands of the Sikhs. What now remains of the garden is merely a shadow of the original⁷.

The second extant garden is situated at Pinjore (Ambala), on the Chandigarh—Kalka road. It was Fidai Khan Koka, the foster brother of Aurangzeb who laid out this garden during the seventeenth century⁸. By this time the garden tradition of the Mughals had arrived at its maturity through the gardens in Kashmir, Lahore, Delhi and Agra. Pinjore garden which is in six descending terraces, is a ripe product of this tradition. But for a few alterations affected during the Sikh rule, this garden is in its pristine condition.

In addition to these two gardens, I came across references to eight more gardens in the Punjab and Haryana, of which only traces or nothing at all is extant. On the basis of these references, whatever could be made out of these extinct gardens is registered below :

1. To the north-east of the town of Panipat, is a large mosque. The main gateway of the mosque bears an inscription stone measuring 4.28 metres by 0.35 metres, fixed above the arch. The inscription consists of five couplets in Persian, carved in two lines of *Naskh* characters. According to this inscription Babur completed a mosque, a well and a *cahar-bagh* in the year 935 A.H. or 1528-29 A.D.⁹. Babur erected the above complex to commemorate his victory over Ibrahim Lodi in the first battle of Panipat. Of this complex only a part of the mosque is extant. Though no trace of the garden is left, but one thing is evident that it was a four-part garden divided into quadrants by water-channels. This Kabulibagh¹⁰, as it was popularly known was the first archetype of the splendid Mughal garden tradition in India.

7. For a detailed account of the history and architecture of the garden refer to my unpublished paper *Aam khas bagh, Sirhind* in the Department of design and fine arts, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

8. J.N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1901, p. XXXVII.

9. M.A. Hussain, *Inscriptions of Emperor Babur, Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplement)*, 1965, Calcutta, 1966, p. 54.

10. When Babur built his garden and palace at Agra, he himself tells us as follows : "The people of Hind who had never seen grounds planned so symmetrically, and thus laid out, called the site of the Jun (Jamuna) where (our) residences were, Kabul". (*Baburnama*, vol. II, tr by A. S. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1921, p. 487). Perhaps similar was the case at Panipat.

2. Akbar was at Kalanaur (Gurdaspur) when he received the news of his father Humayun's death at Delhi. So it was here at Kalanaur that he was proclaimed the Emperor of Hindostan on 2nd Rabi 11,963 A.H. (Feb. 14, 1556)¹¹. On a masonry platform, now, known as Takhat-i-Akbari¹². Later, gardens with wells, palaces and baths were laid out around the throne¹³. Jahangir has recorded his one visit to this garden in 1619 A.D.¹⁴. Only the masonry platform is extant now¹⁵.

3. According to an inscription on a tomb at Hissar, Aba Yazid constructed a garden around his tomb in 974 A.H. or 1556-57 A.D.¹⁶. Neither its location nor any other detail of the garden have come down to us.

4. Shah Quli Mahram, a nobleman of the court of Akbar and the governor of the Punjab during 1575-78 chiefly lived at Narnaul (Mohindergarh). He adorned the town with splendid buildings and large tanks. In 986 A.H. or 1578-79 A.D., he built a beautiful tomb for himself. Later, he laid out a walled-in garden with an imposing gateway, around the tomb in 997 A.H. or 1588-89

11. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnāmā*, vol. II, tr. by Beveridge, Delhi, 1972, p. 5.

12. C.J. Rodgers, *Revised list of the objects of archaeological interest in the Punjab*, Lahore, p. 34.

13. Ibid. Rodgers is of the opinion that the ceremony was probably performed in a tent and the plain brick platform afterwards erected to mark the spot.

14. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Book II, tr. by A Rodgers and H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1968, p. 114.

15. Rodgers, *op. cit.*, p. 34. The bricks obtained from their ruins supplied ballast to Pathankot-Amritsar Railway track. See also Sir John Marshall, *Annual report of the archaeological survey of India (1907-08)*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 32.

16. The inscription is given by P. Horn in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 157. He reads the name as Bayazid whereas according to M.N. Deshpande, it is Aba, son of Yazid. (*Indian Archaeology*, 1971-72, New Delhi, 1975, p. 62). But I think that both of them could not decipher the name well. If the Persian text of the inscription by P. Horn is to be believed then the name is Aba Yazid. (Yazid is a principal city in Iran). Different dates are given by P. Horn and Mr. Deshpande. But as Mr. Rodgers in his List, *op. cit.* independently agrees with Mr. Deshpande, I have given this date. Mr. P. Horn gives it to be 975 A.H.

A.D. and named the garden *Ārām-i-Kausar*¹⁷. The tomb is still in an excellent state of preservation, but of the garden, only the gateway and parts of the enclosing wall are extant.

5. During the second year of his reign, i.e. in 1608 A.D., Jahangir ordered Muizzul-mulk, the *jāgirdār* of Nakodar (Jalandhar) to prepare a garden¹⁸. Most probably the existing tombs of *Ustad* and *Shagird* were situated in this garden. Some surviving old trees from this garden were noticed by General Cunningham when he visited this place during 1878-79 A.D.¹⁹. The building to the west of the tombs was perhaps one of the gateways of the garden. It has now been appropriated for P.W.D. rest-house. The *baradarī* of the garden is now serving as the Tehsil office.

6. A garden existed about 1.5 kilometres to the west of Meham (Rohtak)²⁰. It was built by Saidu Kalal, during the reign of Shah Jahan²¹. The walls of the garden were extant not very long ago²².

7. Amar Singh, the *qanūngo*, had laid out a terraced garden at Batala (Gurdaspur)²³. It was in three terraces, the highest of which overlooked the tank of Shamsheer Khan²⁴. According to the author of the *Khulastu-t-Tawārikh*, this garden was designed in imitation of the Shalamar at Lahore²⁵, which was completed in 1642 A.D.

17. Mulk Raj Anand, *Haryana heritage*, Marg, vol. XXVII, No. 4, Sept., 1974, Anand has not mentioned the source of his information but as far as I can judge it is from Abdul Latif Abbasi's *Safarnāmā*, who travelled through this territory in 1608.

18. Jahangir, *op. cit.*, Book I, p. 136.

19. Alexander Cunningham, *Report of a tour in the Punjab in 1878-79*, vol. XIV, Varanasi, 1970, p. 59.

20. *Objects of antiquarian interest in the Punjab and its dependencies*, Lahore, 1875, pt. II, pp. 8-9.

21. *Ibid.* An extensive *baolī* erected by the same person is extant at Meham.

22. I have visited the town a number of times. Most of the inhabitants of the town testify the former existence of this wall.

23. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

Sujan Rai completed his *Khulastut* in 1696 A.D.²⁶. Therefore, this garden came into existence between this period. Admiring the beauty of the garden the same author adds that it attracted the gaze of the beholders by its freshness and beauty and pleased the sight-seers of the town²⁷. Nothing virtually remains of this garden.

8. A walled garden was laid out by Nawab Shamas-ud Daula Lutfulla Khan Sadiq at Panipat in 1224 A.H. or 1809 A.D.²⁸. No details of the garden have come down to us.

The above-mentioned extinct gardens bear ample testimony as to what a consuming passion the Mughal emperors as well as their nobles had for laying out beautiful and spacious gardens which provided them with the much-needed relaxation and soothing atmosphere. Had all these gardens come to us well-protected and well-preserved, the states of the Punjab and Haryana could boast of a rich garden tradition, no less than that of Kashmir gardens.

26. Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulastu-i-Tawarikh* Pb., tr. by Ranjit Singh Gill, Patiala, 1972, p. IX.

27. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

28. *Objects of antiquarian...*, pt. I, pp. 40-41.

REVIEWS

Samavāo : Text, Sanskrit rendering and Hindi version with notes ; **Vācanā Pramukha** : Ācārya Tulasī, ed. and comm. by Yuvācārya Mahāprajña. Jaina Vishva Bharati, Ladnun (Rajasthan), 1984, pp. 32+436. Rs. 120/-.

By the time some publications (in *pothī*-format) of the texts of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon became out of print and were not available in the market, some important Śvetāmbara canonical texts had already been critically edited and published by Jainologists from abroad,—Jacobi, Leumann, Schubring, Charpentier, Deleu, Barnett, etc. This incited a few Jaina-bodies (Monk-editors/laity-publishers) in India to publishing activities. In this new phase of publishing activities it was attempted to satisfy the need for critical editions of the canonical texts. Only two Jaina-bodies of publication are in the context worthy of our note, viz. (1) The Jaina Āgama series (Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya), Bombay, where the editing work was undertaken by the late Revd. Muni Puṇyavijayajī, and successfully carried on now by Revd. Muni Jambuvijayajī together with some Jaina pandits ; (2) The Jaina Vishva Bharati, Ladnun (Rajasthan) under the supervision of Revd. Ācārya Tulasī gaṇījī, but the editorial responsibilities are undertaken by his disciple the Ācārya-designate Revd. Mahāprajña (*alias* muni Nathmal) together with other monks and nuns of their Terāpanthī sect.

Samavāo meant for the present review is one of the recent publications from Ladnun and contains in the beginning a formal editorial and prefatory material (pp. 1-18) together with a classified and alphabetically arranged list of topics from the Samavāo (pp. 19-32), followed by a bulk of the main textual material (pp. 1-401) with 3 Appendices : 1 : parallel references from some texts of the Śvetāmbara-siddhānta (pp. 405-412), 2 : an alphabetical list of proper names with their *varga* (group) on pp. 413-429, and 3 : a classified and alphabetically arranged list of proper names and their *vargas* (pp. 430-435).

The textual material in the edition is divided into 1-101 *samavāos* (the last *samavāo* is the longest one and is named *Paiṇṇaga*—miscellaneous) by the editors, and at the end of many (—not all) divisions appear some comments (*tippanas*) in Hindi. The text with divisions is arranged in three columns on each page : first, the Prakrit text, then its sanskritization in the middle column which is followed by a Hindi translation at the right. Particularly, Sādhvī Kanakaśrī (Sanskrit rendering), Muni Dulaharājajī (Hindi translation and *tippana*), Muni Hirālālji (Appendices), Muni Śricandjī (also Appendices and *tippana*) have collectively contributed to the edition.

Only the Prakrit text from another publication is reproduced in this edition. This Prakrit text of Samavāo had been formerly edited and published on pp. 825-954 alongwith the other texts, viz. *Āyaro* (pp. 1-250), *Snyagaḍo* (pp. 251-486), and *Ṭhaṇam* (pp. 487-824) in a separate volume : *Āṅgasuttāṇi* part I (Jaina Vishva Bharati, Ladnun, V. S. 2031) containing *Sampadakīya* (pp. 13-29) by Muni Nathmal and *Bhūmika* (pp. 30-44) by Ācārya Tulasī, both in Hindi with their English version (not appropriate and complete) respectively, Editorial (pp. 45-52) and Forward (sic ! Foreword, pp. 53-70). The contents for each text follow immediately on pp. 71-97. At the end are given an Appendix (pp. 1-52) and an Errata (p. 51). We will henceforth refer to this publication (v. s. 2031) as volume I.

Relevant materials such as footnotes, contents, which are found for the text of Samavāo in volume I, are omitted from the present edition. A normal content of the text is much needed in the edition. Topics of the Samavāya are well arranged and specially published in some better editions, e.g. *Sthānāṅga-samavayāṅga* (edited by Dalsukh Malvania, Gujarat Vidyāpīṭha, Ahmedabad 1955), *Samavayāṅga* and *Jaināgama nirdeśika* (for 45 āgamas, Samavāya : pp. 201-260) both ; edited by Muni Kanhaiyalal “kamal” (Āgama Anuyoga Prakāśana, Delhi, 1966).

Our remarks in the following paragraphs would be minimum, but sufficient to evaluate the *pāṭha-saṁśodhana* (correcting textual readings) activities at the Jaina Vishva Bharati at Ladnun in general, and the publication of the present edition in particular.

We have to distinguish between the traditional type and the interdisciplinary type of scholarship. Both have developed their

own methodology in textual studies. But the traditional scholarship has ever inspired much awe¹ in the public as well as in academic circles, to that extent that the interdisciplinary scholarship has been deplored as a foreign product blurring the entire picture of traditional values. In the situation, problem regarding definitions of the terms : scholar/scholarship and research is today more acute in the world of letters.

Scholarship is purely an objective investigation into a text containing a bundle of elements, and each individual element becomes a topic in itself for investigation. Each element has to be excavated—examined in all its facets and context—till its original layer in the text is reached. Such an investigation exhibits the elements in different layers of successive developments and their relationship with the text proper. It exposes also a clear picture of concatenated and genuine element(s) of the text, and brings in focus how the traditionalists themselves had from time to time tampered with the ancient texts just for the sake of their traditional values and ideas !

An investigative activity requires many apparatus, which are not confined only to the mastery over language, contents, and traditional grasp of the text alone, but knowledge of other allied subjects which are at least closely related to the text.

With this introductory remark, we would now dwell upon an examination of the Prakrit text, its editing apparatus and Sanskrit rendering of the Samavāo proper.

Authors of most of the early *ṭīkas* (commentaries in general) on the canonical texts exhibited their ignorance in many instances of rendering Prakrit terms into Sanskrit, since, they flourished in distant periods when Prakrit dialects of the canon had already become obsolete, and the Sanskrit of their time was more or less artificial. There was also no early source for equivalent sanskritization of some Prakrit terms. Moreover, it is not always possible to render a Prakrit term into classical Sanskrit, especially when Prakrits have developed through the ages following their own grammatical (or archaic)

1. Cf. for an instance, some reviews on this edition, e.g. those written in Hindi by Muni Samadarśī in *Amara-Bhārati*, No. 5, May 1984, p. 42 (Veerayatan, Rajgir, Bihar) and by Prof. Dr. Nathmal Tatia in *Tulasī-Prajñā*, No. 1, April-June 1984, containing 6 pages—with no proper numbering (Jaina Vishva Bharati, Ladnun, Rajasthan).

peculiarities, or when loan-words from some local alien dialects have been so-to-day, prakritized as such. It requires proper orientation or background of knowledge of the traditional and modern grammars of the Prakrit languages, and studies of published critical editions of early Prakrit texts, etc., before entering into a risk of sanskritization or critically editing a Prakrit text. In short, in absence of the prerequisite knowledge of the Indo-Aryan philology, sanskritization or edition of a Prakrit text remains hardly authentic, it loses value in scholarly world.

In Sanskrit rendering, the Sādhvī Kanakaśrī seems to have followed mainly the Sanskrit *ṭīkas* and unfortunately repeated errors which the authors of the *ṭīkas* were in most of the cases prone to. A proper orientation in the languages would have helped her a lot in the act of sanskritization. Below, we discuss few instances of the kind from the present edition of the Samavāo.

1. In words like *atth' egaiya-*, *atthi* (Hc 3.148, p. 532) is a *pleonastic* form in singular (*asti* : "there is") or in plural (*asti=santi* : "there are") and it should be sanskritized according to the context. Thus *atthi* together with the plural forms of *egaiya-* (e.g. 1.32, p. 3 ; 8.9-2, p. 35 ; etc.) should be *santi* in Sanskrit, irrespective of case-form of *egaiya-*, whether nominative or genitive. In some instances the use of *santi* (e.g. *sant' egaiya-*) with *egaiya-* (in plural) are also a case of *pleonasm*.

egaiya- is *ekatika-* or *ekakika-* in Sanskrit.

(Cf. Pischel §§ 145, 417, 498 ; Leumann. Aup. §§ 58, 68, etc. ; Schubring Ācāra, 24.14, 41.28, 42.10, etc.)

2. *ṇam* (Sanskrit : *nūnam*) from Prakrit has been altogether omitted in the Sanskrit *chaya* (e.g. 1.29, p. 2 ; 2.21, p. 7 etc.)
3. *viyaṭṭa=viṛṭta* (Pischel § 333), and not *vyavṛtta* (e.g. 1.2, p. 1).
4. *cāur-* = *catur-* in compound words (Pischel § 78 ; Hc 1.44, p. 435) and not *catur-* (e.g. 1.2, p. 1 ; 36.1, p. 191, etc.). Skt. *caturanta* in Dighanikāya (1.88.33) and in the Tibetan version (*mtshah bzhi las* ; see F. Edgerton : *Buddhist hybrid dictionary* under *caturaṅga*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1977, p. 223 col. 1) is hardly based upon detailed examination.

5. *devattāe* = *devatvāya*, the dative in *-ae* from abstract neuter in *-tta* ; Skt. *-tva*, is not instrumentalis *devatvena* (e.g. 2.20, p. 7 ; 33.11, p. 179, etc.).
6. The infinitive of purpose in *-ttae* / *-ittae* are old datives to be traced also in Vedic : *-tave*. Thus, *janittae*, *pāsittae*, *sumarittae* (e.g. 10.2, pp. 44-45, etc.) are **jñatave*, **draṣṭave*, **smartave* respectively (Pischel § 578).
7. *Samavāo* 11.1 (p. 52) etc. is to be checked in the following way :
 - (i) *'posaha* = *upavasatha*.
 - (ii) *viyaḍa* = *vikṛta*, and not *vikāṭa* ; An instance of cerebrali-
zation in the past passive participle of roots in *ṛ*.
 - (iii) original order of words in compounds in Prakrit is disturbed
in sanskritization, changes in compounds cause changes in
meanings.
 - (iv) *samaṇ' āuso* ! = *śramṇa* (**āyuṣmas-*) *āyuṣmantah* ! *auso* in
plural has to be compared with **āyuṣmas*, the Vedic
vocatives in *-as* (Cf. Whitney : Sanskrit Grammar § 454,
p. 168, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1962 ; and Leumann.
Aup. p. 100, col. 2).
8. *aṇuvīti* = **anuvīti* (deeply, attentively) as an adverb. It belongs
to Vedic *vīti*. The monograph referred to for the word in
question by Pischel (§ 593, in foot-note 6), viz. *Vedische
Studien* by Pischel and Geldner is not available to us for further
examination. Its Skt. *anuvīci* in 25.6, p. 136 etc. is not correct.
9. *nijjhaitta* = **nidhyātva*, *nirdhyāya*. The Skt. *nirdhyāta* (in that
case, the Pkt. is, e.g. *nijjhada* in Jaina Śaurasenī) as *nomina
agentis* is not an appropriate sanskritization for *nijjhaitta*, (e.g.
9.1, p. 39). Thus, here *sevitta* = *sevitva* ; *kahitta* = **kathitva*,
kathayitva ; etc. are all absolutives used for infinitive of purpose
(cf. Śīlāṅka on Ācāra 1.6 for *nijjhaitta*). *-itta* is here a *taddhita*
suffix in the sense of *-mat* or *-vat*, but it is not the suffix *-yitr*.
10. Forms like *makkhā(y)uṃ* (84.18, p. 272), *makkhaim* (*Prakīrṇaka* :
109, p. 337) etc. are derived from the verb-root *mrakṣ-* (to collect,
to speak in general) and are noted by Pischel (§ 287) and

Schubring (Kalpasūtra 5.51, p. 35) ; see also Hemacandra (4.191, p. 535). The Sādhvī has followed commentators in replacing such forms by a commonly used synonymous root *akhya-* in Sanskrit, which is not justified.

11. 'rayaṇīo (*arayaṇīo*) = *aratnikāḥ* (elbows, yards), an initial *a-* being not accepted is dropped in Prakrit (cf. also Schubring. Kalpasūtra 4.30, p. 31). So also 'riṭṭh' -*abham* = *ariṣṭ*' -*abham*. These instances are in 7.3, p. 28 and 8.15, p. 36 of the edition, sanskritized as *ratnikāḥ* and *riṣṭ*' -*abham* respectively. It is not proper.
12. *veyāvacca* = *vaiyapṛtya*, from *vyāpṛta*. It is not *vaiyāvṛtya* (6.4, p. 23). So also *veuvviya* = **vikurvita*, *vikṛta* ; but not *vaikriya* (6.5, p. 23). Cf. also Pravacanasāroddhārā-ṭīkā (DLJP, Surat, 1961 v.s., p. 68).
13. *khela* = *kṣveḍa* from the root *kṣviḍ-* (= *svid-*), "to emit sap". Hemacandra (2.6, p. 469) has used *kṣveṭaka* with *tenuis*, and Leumann (Aup. p. 114, col. 3) traces its origin from the word *kṣveḍa* = "venom" (emitted by snakes). The word is not for *kṣvela* or *śleṣman* (5.7, p. 18, so also Tatia : Prākkathaṇa in Nirukta kośa, p. 9, Jaina Vishva Bharati, Ladnun 1984).
14. *jāvaṇam* = **jāpakena* ("one who causes to win", causal from the root : √*ji* "to win"), and it is not the causal form : *jñāpaka* from the root : √*jñā*. The Hindi translation is also wrong accordingly (1.2, p. 1).

Unfortunately, there would hardly be any page (from 1-412) of the textual material, which would not require philological or grammatical examination so far as the sanskritization, translation and *tippaṇas* are concerned. It is not possible to record them all exhaustively in the Review. However, our general observations on some lacunae in the sanskritization are as follows :—

Title names in Prakrit for each division (= *samavāo*) are not sanskritized. Sandhi rules in Sanskrit text are not invariably observed. It seems, the Sādhvī is not aware of the fact that in most cases of Prakrit verses or *saṅgrahaṇī-gāthas* no case forms are met with, and without scanning them properly, she has just rendered them in Sanskrit, and sometimes she has disturbed the original order of the

compounded words in Prakrit *gāthās* (e.g. pp. 40, 45, etc.), some words from the Prakrit text are seldom sanskritized.

The lacunae shown in sanskritization are also in many cases repeated in the Hindi translation, which is hardly appropriate, but free ; with some additional words/sentences—apparently as a gloss—it recalls us in some cases the *ṭippaṇa* itself (cf. 7.1-2, pp. 27-28 ; 11.1, p. 52 ; 98.3, p. 297 ; etc.) ! Sometimes, the sanskritization and the translation, both are lacking proper coordination (e.g. 10.8 : *saṅgrahaṇī-gāthā*, p. 46 ; 34.25, p. 184 etc.). Mention of the word : *saṅgrahaṇī-gāthā* appearing before the *gāthas* proper in Prakrit and Sanskrit texts is almost missing in the translation (e.g. 10.8, p. 46 ; 12.2, p. 58 ; 18.3, p. 104, etc.). So also is the case of the word : *prajñāpta-* (Pkt. *paññatta-*)—missing in the translation (e.g. 53.1 foll., p. 219 etc.). The Hindi translator has used his own serial number irrespective of its absence for some terms originally in the Prakrit and the Sanskrit texts (e.g. 21.2, pp. 121 foll. ; 32.1, p. 169 etc.).

The *Ṭippaṇas* are formal explanation, sometimes in details from the traditional source-material. In most of the cases, sanskritized forms from the Prakrits which were subject to our examination above, are also found in the *Ṭippaṇas*.

The editors of the main sections, viz. the Prakrit text, the Sanskrit text, the Hindi translation and the *Ṭippaṇas*, should have consulted with each other so as to bring out the edition uniformly into a consistent whole.

We have yet to discuss the problem of critical apparatus in editing the Samavāo text, which is reproduced here from volume 1, as mentioned above. We offer few of our observations of the Prakrit text proper as follows :—

1. Most of the manuscripts of the Samavāo do not have divisions into *samavāo*, e.g. *Paḍhamo samavāo*, *Bio samavāo*, and so on, till *Satātamo samavāo*, and *Paiṇṇaga-samavāo*, in this edition.
2. And so also, there are no subtitles or subdivisions into *padam* (topic head), originally in the text, e.g. *duvālas' -aṅga-padam* (for *Prakīrṇaka*. 88 foll., p. 313), *rāsi-padam* (for *Prakīrṇaka*. 135 foll., p. 343), etc.

3. Numbering on the lowest level, viz. the sūtra level is in this edition quite different, splitting of the text proper is here much conspicuous. The text before Abhayadeva had only through-numbering : 1-159 !

4. Some words or lines in the main sūtras are missing (omitted ?) in the edition, e.g. *rūvi-ajiva-rāsī 'añega-viha pannatta*, — is missing at the end of *Prakīrṇaka*. 137 (p. 343).

Prakīrṇaka. 135 (p. 343) should be ... *jīva-rāsī ya ajīva-rāsī ya* : with an additional *ya* especially when only one pair of terms is in question, it is a *Nandī*-pattern (in *Nandī* : *passim*), followed in other texts of the canon (e.g. *Prajñāpanā* : *passim*).

5. The editors have disturbed the early text of the Samavāo whenever they felt it inconsistent, e.g. the *gāthas* 1-7 which earlier existed after *evaṃ satta 'vi ... jāsū jujjai* (*Prakīrṇaka*. 142, p. 344), are split up and distributed as follows :—

gāthās 1-2 after *Prakīrṇaka*. 142 (p. 345)

gāthās 3-4 after *Prakīrṇaka*. 145 (p. 347) ; *gāthā*-numbering changed as 1-2.

gāthās 5-7 after *Prakīrṇaka*. 152 (p. 350) : *gāthā*-numbering changed as 1-3.

The reason for such splitting up of the *gāthas* is provided in the foot-note 7 (volume 1, pp. 930-931). Also *saṃṇi* (3.18, p. 10) is placed at a different place by the editors.

6. In deciding the readings of *gāthas* the editors should have first scanned them (e.g. whether archaic *aryas*, or classical *aryas*, or any other meter). The *saṅgrahaṇī-gāthā* in 9.3 (p. 48) recurs in *Ācara niryukti* vs. 31 (*Ācaraisnirakṛta* with Śīlāṅka's *Ṭika*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1978, p. 68) with its second line entirely different, and also in *Sthāna* 9.2 (volume 1, p. 777). In the first line of the *gāthā* (an instance of classical *aryā*), it should be *sī' -osaṇijja* or *sī' -osaṇia* but not : *sī' -osaṇijjam* ! for the amphibrachys (◡ - ◡). This *gāthā* appears once again in other editions of the Samavāo, but without any proper reason it is omitted from this edition (25.5, p. 137). The *gāthā* originally belongs to the *niryukti* version which seems to have later changed in its second line. The reading we suggested above occurs in many texts.

Such instances may be added further, but we think, those cited above, would be sufficient to give some idea that the edition of Samavāo from Ladnun was subject to alterations and additions.

Editors desiring to edit early texts from the existing manuscripts, should remain faithful to the manuscripts. At any cost and under any circumstances, they should not supply in their edition any of their own readings which are not found in the manuscripts. They have to decide, first, out of the manuscripts, an earlier version of the text for publication, collect various readings from the rest of the manuscripts and all other commentarial material and such other sources, and give them all in foot-notes alongwith some editorial remarks or suggestions, if any. Deciding an archetype text is itself a tough task. Sometimes, it would be difficult to determine an early version of the text out of the manuscripts, on account of their interdependent or contaminated nature. However, the case of editing a metrical text demands something more. Here, editors have to decide readings after scanning the meters, as Schubring (*Ācāra*, etc.), Alsdorf (*The ārya stanzas of the Uttarajjhayā*, Verlag der Akademie, Wiesbaden, West Germany 1966), etc. have offered.

The prototype texts so edited acquire some worth as critical editions for further critical studies. The edition has historical value also. Even a disturbed sequence in some text pieces or *gathās* has to be maintained as one of the evidences of historical development of various textual layers. In this context, the editions of the 'Jaina Āgama Series (Bombay)' are ideal and commendable. It should also be remembered that a text-editing activity deviating from the line of critical apparatus as hinted above is not fully rewarded, and editions so produced lose historical and research values and their sacred values too.

The Prakrit text of the Samavāo was included in the activity of a *sunijoyita āgama vācanā* (well-planned āgama recension) and is claimed to have been reconstructed and edited with *paṭha-saṁsodhana* in volume 1 (*Sampādakīya* in Hindi, p. 28). The use of the term : *vācanā* (cf. *vācanā-pramukha*) is meant perhaps for critical edition. But, the very term : *vācanā* implies more than it might be meant for, and offers an odd impression that *vācanā* is superior to critical editions, and the *sunijoyita āgama vācanā* activity is well-nigh on par with the renowned *āgama vācanā*, — the gigantic task undertaken

by the Śvetāmbara scholiasts under the supervision of the celebrated Devardhigaṇi kṣamāśramaṇa in about the 6th cent. A.D.

The critical remarks in the preceding paragraphs are indeed not meant to detract from the importance of the edition of the Samavāo. The material offered in Hindi (translation, *ṭippaṇas*, etc.) on the basis of the early texts in Prakrit and Sanskrit, is much helpful to all adherents of the faith and to many modern Jaina-scholars who hardly know English and are less conversant with original Prakrit texts. We should also realize in the background of such editions, the vast educational activities in the circles of nuns and monks under the guidance of especially the *Yuvācārya* at Ladnun. in contrast with, to some extent, an idle ascetic community elsewhere. The study of the early Jainism in Prakrit and Sanskrit at Ladnun is simply a marvel, and worthy of our praises.

BANSIDHAR BHATT

Selected bibliography and abbreviations

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A need for an etymologicon of words which were etymologized in the early Prakrit texts, — mostly the exegetical literature — was felt in the Śvetāmbara siddhānta. The Nirukta kośa — an etymologicon of the type published from the Jaina Vishva Bharati at Ladnun is an attempt to fill the need of it, and also to reveal side by side the Jaina science of etymology as such which remained for all the centuries so to say, buried under the heap of overgrowth of the exegetical, literature wherein the talented Monk scholiasts strove to interpret the canonical texts. The Nirukta kośa stands closer to the ancient Nighaṇṭus of Nirukta (ascribed to Yāska) which came into existence for assisting the scholiasts in Vedic interpretation.

The edition of the Nirukta kośa contains 1986 words in Prakrit, which are distributed in three ways : words 1-1754 of general nature covering pp. 1-330 comprise the main Nirukta kośa, while only *kṛdanta* words 1-208 are given independent treatment in Appendix 1 (pp. 333-358), and names of *tīrthakaras* 1-24 with etymologies are found separately in Appendix 2 (pp. 359-368). Each word in alphabetical order is serially numbered. A sanskritized form (on the basis of etymologization) of every word is supplied into brackets followed by quotations (one or two or more) from early texts in which the word in question is etymologized. The early texts considered for quotations are mostly *niryuktis*, *cūrṇis*, *bhāṣyas*, *ṭīkas*, etc. Every quotation is translated in Hindi.

The Nirukta kośa contains also a foreword in Hindi (pp. 9-13) written by Dr. Nathmal Tātīā, Director Research section of the Jaina Vishva Bharati at Ladnun, and an Introduction in Hindi (pp. 16-21) written by the Sādhvī editors : Siddhaprajña and Nirvāṇaśrī. A long list of abbreviations and bibliography (pp. 23-27) and at the end of the edition the errata (pp. 369-370) are also supplied.

In our review on the present edition which is dealing with only early etymologies of traditional type, we have to be restricted in the

comments, and to avoid as far as possible our critical examination of an ancient or Jaina science of etymology as such. It does not deserve any scope here. On the contrary, we would like to evaluate the main principles in compilation of the Nirukta kōṣa, a modern etymologicon of traditional set-up. Henceforth, we will use an expression : entry for the words (to be etymologized), and refer to their serial numbers into brackets.

Here we are not concerned with homonyms, but similar instances in which one and the same word has been given different entries, most probably such words are also considered homonyms. In fact, they are not. E.g. *daṇḍa* (768)—*daṇḍa* (769) ; *pañṇa* (943)—*pañṇa* (944) ; etc. The editors are hardly justified in considering such words as different on account of a different invented meaning in one of their etymologies which the traditional scholiasts would have tried to devise (vide Introduction p. 16 : lines 29-31 and p. 17 : lines 1-5). Any two homonymous words have different etymons, but, words like *daṇḍa* and *daṇḍa* in two different entries (768, 769) have not. Besides, it is still difficult to decide any historical sequence (vide Introduction p. 16, lines 23-24) for the words like *daṇḍa-daṇḍa* ; or *pañṇa-pañṇa* (943-944) simply on the basis of their etymologies, one giving a usual meaning, while the other giving a different or an invented meaning that would have been skillfully devised by the scholiasts.

A slight difference in any two etymologies of a word is almost in all cases negligible in the traditional style of etymologization. One or two terms either omitted from or added to an early etymological quotation is an instance of showing a scholastic skill. It does not affect the meaning of the word in question. We have to admit the fact that the exegetical literature of the Jainas have ever been in the process of accretion or historical development. An early quotation of etymology of concise and compact nature when borrowed from the literature by a later scholiast is often subject to further variation. Thus, such early and later quotations can not be treated as supplying different etymons or any different meanings. For instance, *Nandī-tippaṇa* : p. 162 seems to have borrowed an etymological quotation from *Ācāra-cūṛṇi* : p. 125 for the word : *aloga/aloya* (228-229), but the *tippaṇa* has elaborated the early etymology of *Ācāra-cūṛṇi*. Similar instances are : *daṇḍa* (768/769) ; *pañṇa* (943/944), both are mentioned above ; and *tai/tayi* (731/733-734) ; etc. Our contention

is clear : such words should never be treated as homonyms, they convey the same sense, and they should not be given separate entries. There should be only one entry for such words. At the most, in instances of any two words (e.g. *āloga* and *aloya*) with phonological but no semantic variations, the words should be arranged alphabetically and their etymological quotations should be included in the first entry (e.g. *āloga*) whereas in the second entry (e.g. *aloya*) just a remark to refer to the first entry is sufficient. Otherwise, an arrangement of the entries on their historical development would be erroneous, difficult and problematic.

There are some other instances in which one and the same word has different meanings in different context, e.g. *guṇa* is quality or virtue ; *guṇa* is string ; *guṇa* is what the 3 *guṇas* of the *prakṛti* are in the Sāṃkhya philosophy (technical term) ; *guṇa* is what in relation to *pariyāya* is in Jainism (technical term) ; and so on ; — all depending on the context. Of course, a technical sense might be a later evolution in the history of ideas, but at the same time, a word and differences in its other meanings have also their own history of evolution and many factors involved in it. Historical problems in such instances are very acute and complicated too. As such, etymologies of one and the same word (e.g. *guṇa*, just illustrated above) with no phonological but semantic difference should also be included in one entry, and such words require no separate entries either.

We discussed the problems of arrangement of the entries on historical ground. We have yet to examine the vague historical principle (vide Introduction p. 16 : lines 23-24) for arranging more than one etymological quotation into a given entry itself.

The exegetical literature of the Jainas is comprised of a vast complex structure. It is absurd to think that any two exegetical texts have emerged independently, one is regardless of the other. Canonical and other early Prakrit texts, all are interdependent, interlinked with each other in their structures. It is difficult to decide one text as early or late unless its structures are examined alongwith those of many related texts. Otherwise, it is premature and ridiculous to say that one portion of a text is earlier or later than the other one in the same text. As such, the quotations from *cūrṇis* (on Ācāra, Anuyoga,

and Nandi) in the entry : *anā* (176) as claimed to have been arranged on historical principle have to be examined properly. Similarly, *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* vs. 994 and other quotations from *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* in the entry : *āyariya* (207) are also to be examined. Readers interested in getting ideas about the corrupt nature of the texts concerned, are requested to refer to E. Leumann's *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka literatur* (ANIS = Alt- und Neu-Indische studien, Seminar für Kultur-Geschichte Indiens, Uni. Hamburg, Nr. 4, 1934), K. Bruhn's *Āvaśyaka studies I* (ANIS, Nr. 23, 1981, pp. 11-49) and *ibid.* 2 (Indologica Taurinensia, Italy : expected in 1985), B. Bhatt's *The Canonical nikṣepa* (Indologia Berolinensis, Nr. 5, Inst. für Ind. Philologie, Freie Uni. Berlin, 1978), B. Bhatt's *A Composite nikṣepa* (ANIS, Nr. 23, 1981, pp. 1-9)

A traditional etymologicon of the type still requires a systematic and scientific editing. Most probably, the Appendix 1 and the Appendix 2—the *kṛdantas* and the *tīrthakara* names hardly require any independent treatment in special Appendices. Instead, they should be included in the main entries (1-1957) of the edition. Besides, words and quotations are not exhaustively collected from the early Prakrit texts and not given entries in this etymologicon, e.g. *Ācāra-cūrṇi* : p. 125 (line 8) gives an etymology for *loga*, but in the entry of *loya* (1307), etymology from *Ācāra-cūrṇi* : p. 125 is not given any place. In some cases, the sanskritization is not appropriate, e.g. *vimarśa*, *svādya*, *hākara* for *vimarśa* (1451), *sāima* (1619, -ima a *kṛt*-suffix, not -iman), *hakkara* (1732) respectively. *Ācāra-ṭīka* gives Sanskrit form : *asrava* for *asava* (250), but such sanskritization is neglected by the editors, see also for *veuvviya* (1458) : Sanskrit form : *vaikurvika* accepted ; *vaikriya* rejected ! No reason is supplied for that.

The Hindi translation of etymological quotations is too free to be called a translation. It is more or less like a gloss, e.g. the Hindi translation of the quotations in *nikkheva* (649), etc. In the entry : *pāsavaṇa* (1070), the first quotation is not translated. Sometimes in the translation some extra words are added, e.g. Hindi translation in *asava* (249-252), *kuvalaya* (434-435), *ihattha* (274), *veyavacca* (1472), *mahaṇa* (1238), etc.

Comparatively, the *deśya* words are very few in the edition. However, we fail to understand why *deśi* words are included in the Nirukta kośa, when a separate *Deśi śabda kośa* is already in the plan on the pattern of the Nirukta kośa and the Ekārthaka kośa (vide

Introduction p. 15). To our great surprise, words indicated by (single) inverted commas (quotation marks) ; ' ' : i.e. the word in question is partly *deśi* and partly Sanskrit (?), are hardly traceable. In the translation, *ni* and *kṣepa* being used with indicated quotation marks create confusion in the minds of the readers in the entry : *ṇukkheva* (649) though it is not a *deśi* word.

The editors should have given full references to the texts from where the words (in the entries) are etymologized by the scholiasts. For an instance, in the case of *aṇa* (176), with its four quotations from the texts like *Ācāra-cūrṇi*, *Anuyogadvāra-cūrṇi*, *Nandī-cūrṇi*, and *Sthānāṅga-ṭīkā*, the editors should have specifically given exact references to these texts ; (1) for the quotations, and (2) for the word also. It is essential to know also about the word whether it comes directly from any text or it is taken from any text pieces cited by the scholiasts. The present edition should supply also some critical annotations, etc. on the basis of important views of modern scholars regarding some of the Prakrit words (vide our review on the *Samavāo*, edition of the Jaina Vishva Bharati, Ladnun, in this Journal, for further information).

However, the *Nirukta kośa*, — the first step of the kind in the direction of a traditional etymologicon deserves all our praises. It is a unique reference book of etymologies for the exegetical literature of the Śvetāmbaras. We wish, the editors in future will adopt scientific methods in bringing out its second revised and enlarged edition which would be much more valuable. The work is difficult, since the early Prakrit texts are extensive in contents and contexts, but it is not impossible only when the Jaina Vishva Bharati (Ladnun) realizes the worth of an interdisciplinary scholarship for research work in Jainology. We would hardly agree with Tātīā's statement (Foreword p. 13 : lines 4-6) to the effect that in Indian universities there would hardly be a vast circle of scholars as in the Terāpanthī-sect of the Ācārya Tulasī at the Jaina Vishva Bharati (Ladnun), where plenty of research work has been rendered possible. In fact, Tātīā should have known the distinction between research and compilation (vide our Review on *The Samavāo*, edited by the Jaina Vishva Bharati, Ladnun ; published in this Journal pp. 245-254). The *Nirukta kośa*, like every *kośa* in general, is a compilation, but not a piece of research. Compilatory work can more easily and successfully be undertaken in a missionary where adherents

give free services, and are not aware of or bother about either disciplines other than their religion, and tradition, or the fact that truth outweighs sectarianism. Native reviewers are generally of eulogism, evaluating or investigating almost nothing scholarly ; so also the reviewers on the Nirukta kośa : Muni Samadarśī in Amara Bharati No. 5, May 1984, pp. 42-43 (Veerayatan, Rajgir, Bihar) and Dr. K. R. Chandra in Tulasī-prajñā, No. 1, April/June, 1984 (Sāhitya samikṣā ; No. 2, Jaina Vishva Bharati, Ladnun, Rajasthan) !

BANSIDHAR BHATT

Ekarthaka Kośa : A Dictionary of synonyms ; Vācana Pramukha : Ācārya Tulasī, ed. by Yuvācārya Mahāprajña and Samaṇi Kusumprajña. Jaina Vishva Bharati, Ladnun (Rajasthan). 1984, pp. 44+396. Rs. 50/-.

The Ekarthaka kośa from Ladnun contains 1700 Prakrit and Sanskrit words (verbs, nouns, etc. in bold face) comprising the main part on pp. 1-160. Hindi meanings for each word are provided in brackets followed by citations with references from the early texts of the Śvetāmbaras. The citations offer traditional synonymization, and each one of them offers at a time one or more than one synonym of the word concerned. An introduction in Hindi (pp. 13-33) explains in brief the arrangement of the words and how to use the Ekarthaka kośa. There are also 3 Appendices covering two-third part of the entire Ekarthaka kośa. Appendix 1 (pp. 161-271) is meant for an exhaustive alphabetical list of all words and their synonyms (total : about 8000). It is helpful in tracing any required word or synonym from the main part. Appendix 2 (pp. 273-381) is a long list of selected words from the main part and gives explanation for some of their synonyms on selective basis. Here, the Prakrit words are followed by their equivalent Sanskrit forms on the basis of the citations. Appendix 3 (pp. 383-394) gives a detail list of only verbs (in their present tense forms) separated from the words of the main part, explains them on the pattern of the dhātu pāṭha in Pāṇini's Aṣṭadhyāyī.

Even a cursory glance into this so-called a synonymicon — the Ekārthaka kośa — reveals three-fold type of citations providing synonyms of the words: 1. Canonical expressions, 2. Synonymization of expressions, 3. Synonymization of words.

The citations of Type 1 are in Prakrit and supply just a list of expressions from the canonical texts without any specific mention whether the expressions convey the same general sense (eg' -*aṭṭha*) or not, e.g. *aikkhai* (p. 27), *dhuva* (p. 85), *sijjai* (p. 152). Whereas, the citations of Type 2 are from a kind of commentaries in Prakrit (*niryuktis*, *cūrṇis*, *bhāṣyas*) or in Sanskrit (*ṭīkās*, etc.) on the canonical texts, and interpret some expressions from Type 1 as synonyms (eg' -*aṭṭha*, *anarthāntaram*), synonymized e.g. *nīle* (p. 69) *pañṇavaṇa* (p. 93), *siddha* (p. 153) — which are for canonical expressions such as *dhuva* (p. 85), *aikkhai* (p. 27), *sijjai* (p. 152) of Type 1 respectively. Since the Ekārthaka kośa is not scientific in arrangement and exhaustive in compilation, here, Type 1 and Type 2 citations are from different textual sources !

The citations of Type 3 are not concerned with the canonical expressions of Type 1, but especially they are explanations of words other than the expressions, i.e. the words are explained by supplying other words of similar sense. In course of explanation, sometimes the explanatory words are referred to as synonyms (eg' -*aṭṭha* / *anarthāntaram*), e.g. *bakuśa* (p. 109), *saṃjama* (p. 142).

In our remarks, we would not go into the details of the synonyms as a science of words and meanings (Semantics), since, the Ekārthaka kośa is a traditional synonymicon — compiled from traditional sources — to bring into focus particularly the knowledge of synonymy in the early Jaina scholasticism. We are concerned here to discuss the citations and their relevancy in the Ekārthaka-kośa.

The citations of Type 1 are mere trite expressions and are scattered over almost the entire canonical literature of the Jains (*vis-à-vis* the Pali Buddhist literature). Through overuse the expressions have become virtually meaningless. But it has ever been the tendency of the scholiasts to trace even from these canonical cliché at least some meaning (synonym) or a technical term. For instance, in the *jaṇai-pāsai* cliché, *jaṇai* and *pāsai* together are a

fixed worn out expression meaning only 'he knows/understands'. They are not synonymous, but are treated as synonymous in some late texts like *Sthāna* (see *jaṇai*, p. 63). Nor they signify different technical terms as the later scholiasts interpret them, e.g. see Jinabhadra's *Viśeṣāvaśyaka bhāṣya* 760 (L. D. series No. 10, L. D. Inst. of Indology, Ahmedabad 1966, p. 146) ; Haribhadra on *Nandī* (Prakrit text society, vol. 10, Varanasi 1966, p. 30) ; Malayagiri on *Nandī* (ĀgS=Āgamodaya series, Bombay, No. 44, 1924, pp. 137^a-138^b) ; Abhayadeva on *Bhagavati* (ĀgS No. 12, 1918, p. 359^a) ; etc. and cf. E. Leumann's *Übericht über die Āvaśyaka literatur*, p. 40^b : lines 40-69, (Alt- und Neu-Indische studien, Seminar für Kultur/Geschichte Indiens, Uni. Hamburg, Nr. 4, 1934), B. Bhatt's *The Canonical nikṣepa*, p. 80 (Indologia Berolinensis, Nr. 5, Inst. für Ind. Philologie, Freie Un. Berlin, 1978).

Even otherwise, the synonyms in Type 1 (cliché) of the Ekarthaka kośa are more confusing than consistent. A synonym of more than one word in context ceases to be a synonym even of the same word in another context ! For instance, the synonyms cited for some forms of the root $\sqrt{han}$ (and with prefix : *abhi*) which generally means to hurt are :

1. *abhi-haṇati* (p. 14) has 5 synonyms,
2. *hantavva* (p. 156) has 4 synonyms, and
3. *hanta* (p. 157) has 5 synonyms.

Though, all these 3 words have the same sense, but their synonyms (total : 14) are quite different, except some forms of the root $ud + \sqrt{du}$ (to hurt) common for all the 3 words : (viz. *uddaveti*, *uddaveyavvā*, *uddavitta* respectively). Again, forms of the root $ud + \sqrt{du}$ are found also as synonyms of some words, e.g. *akkosejja* and other two words (p. 2), *auḍijjamāṇa* and other 5 words (p. 21), *cheyanakarī* and other two words (p. 62) and *pāṇavaha* and other 32 words (p. 100). But, in all these about 45 words/synonyms, we do not find even a single form of the root (*abhi*+) $\sqrt{han}$, i.e. any of the 3 words as stated above, though, (*abhi*+) $\sqrt{han}$ and $ud + \sqrt{du}$ occur as synonyms ! The reason is simple, these all expressions of Type 1 are hackneyed.

The canonical cliché is thus not relevant to the synonymy, a canonical cliché like *aghavei-paṇṇavei-parūvei* would mean 'he declares' and nothing more ! But the scholiasts interpret the cliché

as synonymous in citations of Type 2 (e.g. see *āikkhai/āikkhami* : p. 21, and compare the interpretation by the *cūrṇis* on a similar cliché ; *paṇṇatta/paṇṇavaṇa* : p. 93 and *parūvaṇa/parūvita* : p. 98).

The citations of Type 2 and also Type 3 have been in course of time subject to accretion. Sometimes, citations of early origin in Type 2 or 3 are later used with some additional word(s) by younger authors of the *ṭīkas* for the sake of elaboration. Thus the citations in *ita* (p. 31) and in *gata* (p. 53) mean the same, — they are required to be included either in *ita* or in *gata*, since, both have been subject to further accretion ; — such instances are : *biya* (p. 110), *mala* (p. 121 : the 2nd one) ; *agga* (p. 3) — *agra* (p. 4).

The editorial remark to the effect that citations without synonymic expression like *eg' -atṭha/anarthantaram* are not given any scope in the Ekārthaka kośa (see Introduction p. 21, lines 5-9), is not clear. In contrast, we find also such citations in the Ekārthaka kośa (e.g. *bhanta* and *bhajana* : p. 111 ; *ñicchaya* : p. 69 ; *iṭṭha* : p. 31 ; etc.).

At times, some words are duplicated, — once in Prakrit (e.g. *nikkheva* : p. 69 ; *dhamma* : p. 84), and the same word in Sanskrit (e.g. *nikṣepa* : p. 87 ; *dharma* : p. 84) again. Also, some Prakrit words are repeated (e.g. *khema* : p. 52) though their sense is not different.

By excluding such cases from the main part, the total number of words would be less than 1700 !

Moreover, we do not find any necessity for the Appendix 2. Instead, the editors could have for better reason included the entire Appendix 2 (annotations, etc.) at relevant places in the main part itself. This would have facilitated the readers to refer easily to words and their annotations etc. on the spot, and would have spared quite a considerable number of pages in the Ekārthaka kośa.

The Ekārthaka kośa, thus it seems, is unfortunately not a systematic compilation, nor have the editors collected the synonyms seriously. They could have enhanced the worth of the Ekārthaka kośa by adding to it many other words and synonyms of the type as traced from the canonical and other exegetical literature. Unfortunately, the two reviews (in Hindi) on the Ekārthaka kośa seem to be insignificant. They are written by Muni Samadarśī (in *Amara Bharati*, No. 5, May 1984, p. 43,

Veerayatan, Rajgir, Bihar) and by Dr. Anand Mangal Vajpeyi (in Tulasi-Prajñā, No. April/June 1984, Sahitya-samīkṣā No. 1, Jaina Vishva Bharati, Ladnun, Rajasthan). Below, we suggest few of some essential matters required for improvement of the quality and utility of the present synonymicon.

1. Sometimes, in commentaries equivalent words are given for the explanation of canonical words, — with or without quoting the canonical words, e.g. *makkhaya* — a canonical word is explained/synonymized as *akhyataḥ akkhaya* or the like in most of the running commentaries. This and such other words are missing in the Ekārthaka kośa. Some later commentators sometimes adopt words which are explained/synonymized in early commentaries, and use them with few additional words, or with a little variation, such instances may be traced from *niryuktis*, *cūrṇis*, *bhāṣyas*, *ṭikās*, *avacūris*, *ṭabbos* etc.
2. Instances of Type 2 citations are *passim* throughout the entire exegetical literature. Such instances have almost been neglected in the Ekārthaka kośa, which are most essential for a traditional synonymy.
3. Many instances of the so-called synonymization could be gathered from all places where the *Nikṣepa* technique has been applied in the exegetical texts, mostly *niryuktis*, and to some extent *cūrṇis*.
4. Besides, not only the selected, but all words and citations should be followed by critical annotations and translation, in the main part itself.
5. Actual references to the texts from which the words are supplied for synonyms should invariably be mentioned. For instance, the Āvaśyaka-*cūrṇi* and the Ācāra-*cūrṇi* have adopted the word : *vavasāya* (p. 131), but simultaneously the editors should give references to the texts, viz. Āvaśyaka-*sūtra* or -*niryukti*, or -*cūrṇi* and Ācāra-*sūtra* or -*niryukti*, where the word : *vavasāya* occurs. This is essential to understand the context of the word and the citations.

We wish, in future such matters would be given due importance and proper place in the next edition of the Ekārthaka kośa which would be a remarkable contribution to a kind of traditional synonymicon in Jainism.

BANSIDHAR BHATT

An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles ;
vol. 2, pts. I, II and III ; General editor : A. M. Ghatage,
Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute,
Poona 6, 1979, 1980 and 1981.

This is the second volume of E(ncyclopaedic) S(anskrit) D(ictionary), a world-known comprehensive project of Descriptive-Sanskrit-Lexicography, work on which has been going on since 1948. The first part begins with अज् [aj-] I.U.(P.) (p. 721) and ends before the entry on अतिजात [ati-jāta] *adj.* (976), is completed. The second part begins with the remaining entries of अतिजात (977) and ends with the entries on अतृष्ण [a-tṛṣṇa] *adj.* (1224). The third part begins with अतृष्णज् [ā-tṛṣṇaj] *adj.* (1225) and ends with अद्वयेकतार्थत्व [advyekatārtha-tva] *n.* (1477). Thus this volume contains 757 double column quarto pages.

The first part of the first volume of ESD was reviewed by George Cardona in December, 1977 [Indian Linguistics 38, pp. 234-43 (1977)] and first and second parts by Deepak Bhattacharya [VIJ-15(I), pp. 176-78 (1977) and VIJ-16(I), pp. 153-54 (1978)] respectively.

The present reviewer joins his two predecessors in showering compliments on the editorial board of this monumental work, which should vie with works like

Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (St. Petersburg = PW) and
The Oxford English dictionary

in importance.

Sanskrit scholars and lexicographers all over the world would rejoice over the successful completion of this venture. But all said and done the reviewer is not entirely satisfied at the way the work is being processed.

I leave it to other readers if they too feel like me. Here are my observations :—

VIJ-34

(265)

1. Meanings of some vocables not very appropriate

1.1. In article on अजा [a-jā] *f.* (page-column/line)=(751-b/26-29) the 6th meaning—‘name of a woman created by Brahman (*m.*)’—is not perfect, because the woman is *Māyārūpā* here, which is clearly indicated in the following quotations of the Brahmapurāṇa, from where the quotation to illustrate the meaning is cited :—

(i) ...महाक्यादृषयो मायामादाय पुनरागमन् Brahmp. 134.5 (ASS.28, 1895).

(ii) मायारूपां तु प्रमदां ... Brahmp. 134.11.

Same is the case with the 7th meaning of the vocable (751-b/29-30)—‘name of Kṛṣṇa’s sister’—which was again *Māyārūpā*. The following citation of the Nārāyaṇīya certifies it, from where the illustration is cited :

(i) अजां मायाम् Nārāy.X.39.4, (ed. by T. G. Shastri, TSS. XVIII, 1912, p. 159).

1.2. अतिदुरात्मन् [ati-durātman] *adj.* (999-a/43) and अतिदुर्जन [ati-durjana] *adj.* (1000-a/31)=‘very wicked’, only this meaning is entered for both entries. But, a slight differenciation in meaning could have been made between—‘of morally bad thinking’ and ‘of actually vicious conduct’—the two.

1.3. अतिरूढमान [atirūḍha-māna] *m.* (1101-b/38-39)=‘deep-rooted pride’. Here *rūḍha* means mounted, risen, ascended, grown, increased, developed etc. and it is derived from √रूढ बीजजन्मनि प्रादुर्भावे च and so, *atirūḍha* means ‘highly increased’ or ‘very much increased’. The entered meaning ‘deep-rooted’, though gives the sense yet only approximately.

2. Some other notes

2.1. अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां वृद्धीं प्रजां जनयन्तीं सखाम् ।
अजो ह्येकौ जुषमाणोऽनुशेते जहात्येतां भुक्तभोगामर्जोऽन्यः ॥

TaiĀ.X.10.1 (804.3) ; ŚvetaU. 4.5. In the articles under ¹अज [ajá] *m.* (722-a/21 to 723-a/31) and ²अज [a-já] *m.* (723-a/32 to 724-a/58) this citation is neither cited nor referred to, while *aja* occurs here twice. It has been cited on the other hand under the vocable ¹अजा [aj-ā] *f.* (750-b/44-46) without any cross reference. The symbolic meaning of the word *ajā* here is *Māya* or *Mūlaprakṛti*, which is not entered in ESD at its appropriate place. Sāyaṇa explains this word as न जायत इत्यजा मूलप्रकृतिरूपा माया । न ह्यनादेस्तस्या जन्म संभवति Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya on TaiĀ.X.10.5 (ed. by V.G. Āpte, ASS.36, Poona, 1927, p. 718).

2.2. *aṭāṭya* is a word which occurs in A(mara)K(oṣa). 1423-ब्रज्याटाद्या पर्यटनम्. The commentators — Kṣīrasvāmin (कुटिलमटनमटाद्या ...अट्यापि AK 2.7.35, (ed. by K. G. Oak, Poona, 1913, p. 118)), Rāyamukūṭa ('वृथाद्या खलु सा तस्या' इति प्रयोगदर्शनात् अट्या च AK Śloka 432, (ed. by K. K. Dutta, vol. II, Calcutta, 1973, p. 520)), and Maheśvara (ब्रज्या अटा अट्या पर्यटनं चत्वारि पर्यटनस्य AK, (ed. by V. Jhalakikar, Bombay, 1907, p. 174))—have explained this vocable both ways, i.e. as a single word *aṭāṭya* and as a *sandhirūpa* of two separate words — *aṭa*+*aṭya*. But in ESD this AK's reference is cited only under अटा [aṭā] *f.* (862-b/49) and अटाद्या [aṭāṭyā] *f.* (863-a/25) and not under अट्या [aṭyā] *f.* (868-a/23-27).

2.3. In the entries of the vocable अतिदीन [ati-dīna] *adj.* (996-a/14-15) five running homonymous English meanings — 'very miserable', 'very weak', 'very dejected', 'very much in distress' and 'very poor' — are entered and twelve quotations are cited for their illustration. But, one finds helpless oneself to ascertain that which one of the five meanings is applicable to a particular citat? Are all of the entered meanings applicable to all citats? Meanings and citations should have been properly categorised.

2.4. On the vocable अत्यन्तदुःखद [atyantaduḥkha-da] *adj.* (1239-b/33) for the illustration of the entered meaning, the following citation is given from Nāradaśmṛti 137.5 :

आपत्स्वपि हि कष्टासु वर्तमानेन देहिना, the second part of this verse reads अदेयान्याहुराचार्या यच्चान्यस्मै प्रतिश्रुतम्. The relevant vocable is not

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found in this citation. So, it is not clear what for this citation is admitted.

2.5. On अदनीयवस्तुमात्रपर [adanīyavastumātra-para] *adj.* (1346-a/57) the following citation from LaŚabdeŚe. ii. 1054.5 is given :

भक्ताख्यास्त । भक्तशब्दोऽत्र अदनीयवस्तुमात्रपरः ।

Here the meaning of *bhaktākhyasta* is not clear. After an enquiry it was found that it is a shortened form of *bhaktākhyastadar-theṣu* a sūtra of Pāṇini (6.2.71). The complete sūtra or this clarification should have been given here.

3. Summary of meanings not entered.

The following examples are found contrary to the accepted principle of entering summary of meanings (Preface-XX-a/44-51 and LXXXIV-a/25-34). At the beginning of the articles on following vocables summary of meanings should have been given, as these articles spread out to two or three columns of ESD (as per provision of resumé of the article if too long) :—

- 3.1. अजर [a-jāra or ā-jara] *adj.* (739-b/44 to 740-b/22).
- 3.2. अजस्रम् [ajasram] *adv.* (747-a/45 to 748-a/35).
- 3.3. अतिरात्र [ati-rātra] *m.* (rarely *n.*) (1091-a/12 to 1091-b/46).
- 3.4. अद्वितीय [a-dvitiya] *adj.* (1462-a/41 to 1463-a/30).

4. Punctuation irregularities

Though the punctuation marks are not used in the citations, still it is agreed upon that a *daṇḍa* mark be applied at the end of a line of a metrical passage (Preface-LXXXV-a/1-6). Still it is omitted at some places :—

4.1. Under the vocable अतिदोषवृत्ति [atidoṣa-vṛtti] *adj.* (1013-b/41-43) ; the *daṇḍa* mark is omitted after the word *samutthitasya*.

4.2. Under अत्यायत [aty-āyata] *adj.* (1297-b/2) a citation is quoted from RāghPāṇ. (Dha.) 14.27. Here *daṇḍa* mark is omitted after *atyāyatamāpagaughan*. After applying the *daṇḍa* mark the reading

will be changed as *atyāyatamāpgaugham* (watch the final *m* in both cases).

4.3. Regarding citations it is determined when parts of passages are dropped, this (dropping) is to be indicated by the use of three dots (LXXXIV-b/50-51). But under अत्यजत् [a-tyajat] *adj.* (1231-a/3), a citation from Tilakamañjari 119.9 ends with the word *grāmeyakaiḥ*. In the actual text ग्रामेयकैः is preceded by numerous intervening vocables up to 120.4, till its *adjs.* अत्यजद्भिः etc. are reached. But in ESD the dots are omitted here and both stand juxtaposed.

4.4. Comma is not given at places, where it is needed. For example after 'superior to' (1099-a/9) and 'not a regular door' (1461-a/13) etc.

5. Repetition of citations

The idea behind repeating citations, sometimes in the same page or same column, is not very clear. Again to economise space and to achieve compactness the etymological notes on some vocables are referred back to the concerned etymological dictionaries. The etymology should have been given and economy principle applied (by a cross reference to ESD) as has been done in the case of words having more than one meaning on account of *śleṣa*. The repetition of citations increases the bulk of ESD. Here are some examples of the repetition :—

5.1. “गाङ्गेयं चाथ रूप्यं गदहरमजराकारि मेहापहारि RasRaSa. 5.3=RaseCin. 6.7 (49.27)”. It is cited under अजरा [a-jarā] *f.* (741-a/32) and again under अजराकारिन् [ajarākār-in] *adj.* (741-a/43).

5.2. “मङ्गलश्लेषः पदस्तीमस्यैव चेतृथगर्थता । अजरामरता कस्य नायोध्येव पुरी प्रिया Candrā. 5.64” is cited under अजरामरता [ajarāmara-ta] *f.* (742-a/3-4) and also under अजरामरता [ajarāma-ratā] *adj.* (*f.*) (742-a/7-8).

5.3. “अजस्रदीक्षाप्रयतस्य मदगुरोः क्रियाविघाताय कथं प्रवर्तसे RaghuVa. 3.44 ; 3.65” is repeated under अजस्र [á-jasra] *adj.* (746-b/23-24) as well as under अजस्रदीक्षा [ajasra-dīkṣā] *f.* (747-a/11).

5.4. “कृष्णेन विकसद्वक्त्राभोजमोजायितं तथा । चाणूरेण यथा वेगात् कृतान्तस्यातिथीयताम् PāṇḍaC. 2.411” occurs under अतिथीय [atithiya] *adj.* (991-a/26-27) and the second line occurs under अतिथीयित [atithiyita] *adj.* (991-a/29-30) also with a slight different reading according to Bhāvnagar ed., i.e. “...कृतान्तस्यातिथीयतम्...”.

5.5. “(गिरेश्छः शस्त्रजीविषु) अत्वर्म । अत्वर्मियाः JaineVyā. 202.10 (on iii. 3.65)” is repeated under अत्वर्म [atvarma] *m.* (1324-b/62-63) and अत्वर्मिय [atvarmiya] *m.* (1325-a/1).

6. Double or triple entries of meanings

Double or triple meanings are entered for some vocables, serving no extra purpose. Moreover this practice ignores the accepted principle of maximum economy adopted by the General editor (V-b/29-30 and XXVII-a/27-28). Some of the examples are as follows :—

6.1. अतित्वरित [ati-tvarita] *adj.* (985-a/25), ‘with great hurry’, ‘very quick’.

6.2. अतिथिक्रिया [atithi-kriyā] *f.* (986-b/28), ‘reception of a guest’, ‘hospitality’. Five running citations are given to illustrate these meanings. If these had some semantic variation, it would have been better to arrange them under two separate categories relating each to relevant quotations. Otherwise the first meaning was sufficient. Thus :—

6.3. अतिदुःख [ati-duḥkha] *n.* (998-a/4), B ‘great misery’, ‘extreme sorrow’, ‘excessive distress’.

6.4. अतिदुःख [ati-duḥkha] *adj.* (998-a/24), ii—‘causing great sorrow’, ‘causing great misery’.

6.5. अतिदुःखित [ati-duḥkhita] *adj.* (998-a/41-42), ‘greatly grieved’, ‘worried or distressed’, ‘very miserable’.

6.6. अतिदुराचार [ati-durācara] *adj.* (999-a/41), ‘of very evil conduct’, ‘very wicked’.

6.7. अतिदूरतस् [atidūra-tas] *adv.* (1004-b/8), ii—‘at a long distance’, ‘far away’ ; iii—‘from a great distance’, ‘from afar’.

6.8. अतिभोगिन् [ati-bhogin] *adj.* (1064-a/21), 'too much given to enjoyment', 'too much pleasure-loving'.

6.9. अतिलङ्घितुम् [ati-laṅghitum] *inf.* (1107-b/33), 'to overcome', 'to cross over'.

6.10. अतोर्ध्वम् [atordhvam] *adv.* (1226-a/22), 'thereafter', 'after that'.

6.11. अत्यघवत् [atyagha-va(n)t] *adj.* (1230-a/34-35), 'who has committed great sins', 'great sinner'.

6.12. अत्यन्तकोविदा [atyanta-kovidā] *adj.* (1235-a/50), 'very expert', 'highly skilled'.

6.13. अत्यन्तमलिन् [atyanta-malin] *adj.* (1252-b/12-13), i = 'very dirty', 'very impure', 'very unclean'.

6.14. अत्वरमाण [a-tvaramāṇa] *adj.* (1324-b/29-30), 'not hastening', 'not hasty', 'without making haste'.

6.15. अदक्षिण [a-dakṣiṇa] *adj.* (1339-a/45-46 and b/13-14), c i = 'not well behaved', 'immodest', 'impolite'.

6.16. अद्वि [a-dvi] *adj.* (1461-b/43), 'not reduplicated', 'having no reduplication'.

6.17. अद्वित्व [a-dvitva] *n.* (1465-b/39-40), i = 'non-reduplication', 'absence of reduplication or doubling'.

Many more examples can be cited in this regard. Instead of entering double or triple meanings, it would have been extremely useful if all the vocables of this Encyclopaedic dictionary had been provided with Sanskrit meanings as well.

7. Formalised readings

7.1. Some words having *dvitva* in the actual editions of base books are formalised in ESD. Thus : ESD कर्त्तव्यः (1009-a/30) = base book कर्त्तव्यः, वर्धयेन्नियतम् (1226-a/23) = वर्धयेन्नियतम्, धर्मशुद्धिर्न (1257-b/61) = धर्मशुद्धिर्न, धर्मार्थं (1412-a/38) = धर्मार्थं etc.

7.2. At some places sandhi rules are not observed. For example प्रमाणं अदीर्घकाला (1371-b/53) etc.

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7.3. In some entries usual practice of juxtaposition is changed, i.e. नारभ्यते (995-a/64) for नाऽऽरभ्यते.

In an Encyclopaedic dictionary, where historical principles are followed, the original correct reading of base book should have been preferred.

8. Misprints in references

<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
ManvVi. 1232.21 (on 4.231) (1014-b/54)	ManvVi. 1232.21 (on 9.231)
MayūMali. 564.6 (on viii. 2.8) (1091-b/63-64)	MayūMali. 564.6 (on viii. 2.6)
RV. i. 190.3 (1228-a/14)	RV. i. 190.4.

9. English spelling mistakes

<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
bypasts (991-b/59)	bypass
difficnlt (1002-a/55)	difficult
distanee (1004-a/41)	distance
despleasure (1019-b/46)	displeasure
obstruction (1020-a/56)	obstruction
ooncealed (1023-b/29)	concealed
facc (1047-b/49)	face
oxpert (1235-a/50)	expert
graat (1259-b/37)	great
fictitions (1278-a/16)	fictitious
turmed (1293-a/9)	termed
extrenely (1293-a/24) [B(roken) F(ound)]	extremely
statet he (1324-a/6)	the state
auscestors (1324-a/7)	ancestors
anscestors (1324-a/9)	ancestors
unrestrained (1362-a/12)	unrestrained
unsubdned (1362-a/17)	unsubdued
nat (1363-b/35)	not

impercetible (1387-b/57)
 dookeeper (1461-b/41)
 sccondlessness (1463-b/41)
 tbe (1475-a/1)
 nondualty (1476-a/45-46)

imperceptible
 door-keeper
 secondlessness
 the
 non-duality.

10. Misprints in transliteration

Incorrect

Tattāvabodhini (992-a/8)
 atlnibiḍa-vigraha (1019-b/39)
 ṛsis (1323-b/64)
 Śāstras (1476-b/64)

Correct

Tattvabodhini
 atinibiḍa-vigraha
 ṛṣi
 Śāstras.

It is to be pointed out that the Śāstras and Śāstras have basic difference in meaning. Here Śāstra means a composition of certain Rgvedic *mantras*.

11. Misprints in abbreviations

Incorrect

SarvnDaSam. (1004-a/18)
 SamkarKaBh. (1091-b/59)

Correct

SarvaDaSam.
 SaṅkarKaBh. etc.

12. Misprints in lexemes

Incorrect

अतिदुर्गप्रतिस्तब्ध (999-b/35)
 अतिरस्कृतैश्वर्य (1089-b/22)
 अदुर्विनीत (1375-a/43)
 चदृष्टचरचातुरीचण (1393-b/43)
 अदृष्टसाग्य (1408-a/7)
 अद्भुतकृष्णराज (1429-b/37)

Correct

अतिदुर्गप्रतिस्तब्ध
 अतिरस्कृतैश्वर्य
 अदुर्विनीत
 अदृष्टचरचातुरीचण
 अदृष्टसाम्य
 अद्भुतकृष्णराज etc.

13. Misprints in citations

<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
अन्तरात्मा (979-a/19-20)	अन्तरात्मा
करूण्याह (980-b/22)	करूण्याह
-तीक्ष्णवेगौ (981-a/32)	-तीक्ष्णवेगौ
लौकिक्य (982-a/55-56)	लौकिक्य
-सप्तमद्वार- (984-a/39-40)	-सप्तमद्वार-
मूर्ध्नि (987-a/6)	मूर्ध्नि
विष्टरे (989-b/59)	विष्टरे (1901 ed.)
दवदन्ती (991-a/22)	दमयन्ती
करावलम्बम् (991-b/58)	करावलम्बम्
-तद्वदिति (994-a/45-46)	-तद्वदिति
नारभ्यते (995-a/64)	नारभ्येत
-बहुव्रीहि- (995-b/30)	-बहुव्रीहि-
नातिदीर्घो (997-a/1)	नातिदीर्घो
अतिदीर्घ (997-a/2)	अतिदीर्घ
नातिदीर्घमिव- (997-a/3)	नातिदीर्घमिव-
-अतिदीर्घम् (997-a/9)	-अतिदीर्घम्
-अतिदीर्घा (997-a/10)	-अतिदीर्घा
नातिदीर्घमिव- (997-a/22)	नातिदीर्घमिव-
कालमतिदीर्घ (997-a/25)	कालमतिदीर्घ
-अतिदीर्घकालं (997-a/38)	अतिदीर्घकालं
-अतिदीर्घकाल- (997-a/39)	-अतिदीर्घकाल-
-अतिदीर्घत्वात् (997-b/2)	-अतिदीर्घत्वात्
-अतिदीर्घबाहुः (997-b/14)	-अतिदीर्घबाहुः
-दीर्घविषाण- (997-b/21)	-दीर्घविषाण-
-दीर्घसूत्रा- (997-b/31)	-दीर्घसूत्रा-
-दीर्घास- (997-b/49)	-दीर्घास-
-शोकम् (998-a/16)	-शोकम्
-दुर्वलः (1000-b/59)	-दुर्वलः
विश्वामित्रो (1002-a/37)	विश्वामित्रो
किं (1004-b/2)	किं

Incorrect

गोरवेण- (1005-a/14)
 -उत्त्वण- (1006-a/52)
 -अग्नेर्वा (1007-a/17)
 -वाच्य (1010-a/56)
 धनोमण्णा (1014-b/52)
 -लुब्धात्मा (1014-b/62)
 चतुर्विंशतिरेव (1016-a/54-55)
 -निन्द्र (1024-a/56)
 -पञ्चचां (1025-a/52)
 अंतिपुण्यं (1028-b/58)
 अन्तर्निमग्न- (1029-b/8)
 -सङ्गम- (1032-a/7-8)
 दीर्घकाला- (1044-a/35)
 -प्रसङ्गेना- (1044-a/35)
 मूर्ति (1059-b/40)
 तीर्थ (1081-a/37)
 -मैथुनमेव (1081-b/6)
 -भेधावित्वा- (1081-a/43)
 अतिरभसमुद्धूत- (1087-b/33)
 पञ्चद्विरात्रा- (1091-b/63)
 वर्ति (1101-a/60)
 विक्रमाम्भोधि (1107-b/34)
 खङ्ग- (1118-a/50)
 -अतिवीर्यवान् (1129-a/56)
 -कपिच्छु- (1132-b/43)
 पार्थिव- (1195-a/2)
 वैष्णवं (1197-a/30)
 रुद्राक्ष (1230-a/33)
 पश्येदममद्भुतम् (1231-b/33)
 विलोभनयनां (1234-b/22)

Correct

गोरवेण-
 -उत्त्वण-
 -अग्नेर्वा
 -वाच्य
 धनोमण्णा
 -लुब्धात्मा
 चतुर्विंशतिरेव
 -निन्द्र
 -पञ्चचां
 अंतिपुण्यं
 अन्तर्निमग्न-
 -सङ्गम-
 दीर्घकाला-
 -प्रसङ्गेना-
 मूर्ति
 तीर्थ
 -मैथुनमेव
 -भेधावित्वा-
 अतिरभसमुद्धूत-
 पञ्चद्विरात्रा-
 वर्ति
 विक्रमाम्भोधि
 खङ्ग-
 -अतिवीर्यवान्
 -कपिच्छु-
 पार्थिव-
 वैष्णवं
 रुद्राक्ष
 पश्येदममद्भुतम्
 विलोभनयनां¹

1. The base book was not available to verify विलोभनयनां.

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जगामेति (1234-b/50)
 लब्धात्मक- (1235-b/5)
 स्थैर्यं (1237-a/3) [BF]
 -जातिभेदे (1237-b/18)
 -तृष्णावती (1238-b/41)
 -दुर्लक्ष्य (1240-b/31) [BF]
 -दुष्करत्वे- (1240-b/55)
 अत्यन्तं (1251-a/48)
 हि (1251-b/21) [BF]
 -आत्मत्वेनोपेयात् (1252-b/17)
 दीर्घश्रोत्र- (1252-b/21)
 -शब्दानाम- (1254-a/60)
 अनिराकृत्य (1257-b/61)
 सातहव्योऽरातये (1285-b/4)
 -अत्यर्घेण (1285-b/37)
 ददृशुर्बलानि (1297-b/2)
 भुक्तमिदम् (1297-b/10)
 समूलभेषु (1307-a/17)
 अत्युष्णका- (1311-b/48)
 अत्रिमीनश्च (1320-a/43)
 दुःषन्तः (1328-b/46)
 भार्या भवत्तस्य (1339-b/14)
 अनेनान्नं (1342-b/14)
 -देव (1362-b/36)
 दारुणेषु (1364-a/21)
 शलपुष्पी (1365-a/55)
 अदीर्घकालो- (1371-b/50)
 दीर्घकाला (1371-b/53)
 अदीर्घकाला- (1371-b/61)
 -दीर्घत्व- (1372-a/9)
 अदीर्घ- (1372-a/13)
 अस्माकं (1383-b/62)
 वर्जयित्वा (1397-b/35)
 अदृष्टपूर्वा (1399-a/1)

जगामेति
 लब्धात्मक-
 स्थैर्यं
 -जातिभेदे
 -तृष्णावती
 -दुर्लक्ष्यं
 -दुष्करत्वात्
 अत्यन्तं
 हि
 -आत्मत्वेनोपेयात्
 -दीर्घश्रोत्र-
 -शब्दानाम-
 अनिराकृत्य
 सातहव्योऽत्यरातये
 -अत्यर्घेण
 ददृशुर्बलानि
 भुक्तमिदम्
 समूलभेषु
 अत्युष्णका-
 अत्रिमीनश्च
 दुःष्यन्तः
 भार्याभवत्तस्य
 अनेनान्नं
 -देव
 दारुणेषु
 शलपुष्पी
 अदीर्घकालो-
 दीर्घकाला
 अदीर्घकाला-
 -दीर्घत्व-
 अदीर्घ-
 अस्माकं
 वर्जयित्वा
 अदृष्टपूर्वा

सुषुप्त्याद्यवस्थासु (1409-b/37)
 शृङ्गी (1427-a/39)
 तस्माद्वभूव- (1429-b/37)
 कस्याद्भुतकृत (1429-b/54)
 यस्याऽतोपकरणा- (1440-a/5-6)
 राक्षसव्याघ्राः (1456-b/15)
 सबाह्यान्तरस्थानि (1461-b/41)
 किं (1463-a/23)
 द्वेष्टि (1466-b/25)
 अद्वैत (1467-b/47) [BF]
 अद्वैतसिद्धेर्देवमिथ्यात्व- (1474-a/46)
 भगवत्पद- (1475-a/26)
 भवतीत्यादि- (1475-a/29)

सुषुप्त्याद्यवस्थासु
 शृङ्गी
 तस्माद्वभूव-
 कस्याद्भुतकृत
 यस्याद्भुतोपकरणा-
 राक्षसव्याघ्राः
 सबाह्याभ्यन्तरस्थानि
 किं
 द्वेष्टि
 अद्वैत
 अद्वैतसिद्धेर्देवमिथ्यात्व-
 भगवत्पाद-
 भवतीत्यादि- etc.

Besides these examples, printer's devil has his dues in a number of cases of broken found etc.

RANVIR SINGH

A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Moropant Collection in the Library of the University of Bombay : vol. I, compiled by Usha R. Bhise. Bombay University Library, Bombay 400 032, 1981, pp. xxiv 307, 7 plates, Rs. 45/.

The Bombay University Library celebrated its centenary in 1981. To commemorate the literary tradition the library presents the first volume of a descriptive catalogue of the Moropant collection of Sanskrit and Marathi manuscripts ably compiled by Usha R. Bhise.

In his introduction M. D. Paradkar the descendant belonging to eighth generation of the renowned Marathi poet Moreshwar Ramachandra Paradkar (1729-1797 A.D.) the donor of the valuable collection traces the history of the noble bequest, its manner of preservation and donation to the University Library. The scholar Bhise introduces the specialities of the present collection of 1198 works in Sanskrit and Marathi as major languages. She presents seven plates as specimens of four seals and calligraphy of Moropant and family.

The manuscripts are listed under the four heads : part I Vedic literature (1-53), part II Dharmaśāstra literature (54-127), part III Purāṇa and Tantra literature (129-280) and part IV Kāvya literature (281-524). Index of works (pp. XVII-XXII) and Index of authors (pp. XXIII-IV) enhance the value of the collection. The extent and size of the catalogue of 524 manuscripts in 307 pages could be reduced in the manner and practice followed with the application of the uniform cataloguing code abbreviating entries schematically as n. d. for undated. Since all manuscripts are in Devanāgarī the repetition of the word in 524 heads can be avoided with the statement of the script in the very beginning. Main entries in Devanāgarī need the presentation in Roman characters beside as details of the manuscripts run in English. A special care is likely to be taken in printing as transliterated words like Anantarāya (p. 18, line. 4 and 10), Martanda Nana (p. 13, L. 21) need diacritical marks.

The happy note of passages has been given as in सौरसूक्तानि (printed as सूक्तानि p. 10) and the identification notes cited with reference to authors and texts as in धर्मप्रवृत्ति (p. 36) quoting P. V. Kane. In such a manner some important hymns need references left out in the catalogue as in Puruṣasūkta (pp. 8-9) without citing R̥gveda X. 90. The statements like 'written by several scribes' with reference

to 71 पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि (p. 39, line. 15) and 'South Indian characters at the end' regarding 162 दत्तात्रेयस्तोत्र (p. 83, line. 4) need struggle to disentangle the knot. The entries in the catalogue are not bereft of the printer's devils as Kâṇha for Kāṇḍa (p. 74) अद्यय for अद्यय (p. 151), महात्म्य (pp. 81, 88), genealogiceal (p. 111) farmily for family (p. 145) and चौरपञ्चशिका (p. 187).

Apart from such minor slips the catalogue is useful for the librarians, curators and scholars engaged in reference service and editing the texts in Sanskrit literature. To quote one : Raghuvamśa of Kālidasa appears in 43 numbers (382-425) in various cantos (pp. 219-242).

The scholar Usha R. Bhise has edited and processed the manuscripts of the great value with a meticulous care and Bombay University Library has published the catalogue in a nice form with a moderate price accessible to all interested scholars.

SHYAM LAL

Census of the exact sciences in Sanskrit : series A, vol. 4, by David Pingree. American Philosophical Society, Independence Square, Philadelphia, 1981, pp. 447, \$ 30.00.

American Philosophical Society deserves credit to present memoirs for promoting useful knowledge, volume 146 with a good account of the wide knowledge in exact sciences witnessed through the ages. The well-versed scholar of ancient lore and the Professor of History of Mathematics, Brown University, David Pingree begins the present volume of CESS with a bibliography (pp. 3-7) alongwith the list of catalogs of Sanskrit manuscripts and books (p. 8). The articles on authors have been arranged in the alphabetical order of Devanāgarī.

The present volume under review tries to exhaust the possibility of information with an addition of about 320 authors unnoticed in previous three volumes and brings in articles on 1000 new authors with a total account of about 2450 authors given in the alphabetical order of the *pañcama varga p-m* categorised as in prayoga or dharma in the introduction.

Professor Pingree has a keen desire to explore further and identify more and more in the growth of knowledge in the ensuing volumes of CESS presenting the authors information on Tantrik texts and

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current literature particularly from Indian periodicals accessible in near future.

This project of such stupendous dimensions remains on open field to the bibliographers to add the information as it comes to light from time to time to make the grand work up-to-date.

The volume under review is very useful for the scholars, bibliographers and librarians as a tool for research and reference. 447 pages of the volume demonstrate the work of high order and immense industry in accuracy. The brief introduction of the author is followed by the account of his/her published or unpublished works in manuscripts with the portions unspecified and unidentified. The additional information, colophon and sometimes postcolophon with some other tips are quite helpsome.

The variations are introduced with see reference as BHADALĪ=BHADḌALĪ=BHADḌARĪ (pp. 283-84). Some conventions need clarification in the volume as umlaut, i.e. two dots over the vowel as in PAŪMAṆANDI (p. 164) with see reference to PADMANANDIN (p. 165) and in such other cases like PAṬAŚREṆĪ see Parameśvara (p. 165) where the first variation is likely to be incorporated in the main head to acquaint the reader with free variations. Under the present system the reader is kept to wait and see the publication of next volume after some years for some authors like PADAVĀGĪŚVARA see Siddhāntavāgiśa (p. 165) ; perhaps the last volume of CESS, no doubt, expected soon in print.

Better it remains here, for ready reference, to indicate the author's name in brief. The running head on the verso and recto pages as, sometimes, the entries of a particular author run into dozens of pages. To quote four great ones : *KAMALĀKARA BHATṬA (pp. 33-46), *NĪLAKAṆṬHA BHATṬA (pp. 145-57), *BHATṬOTPALA (pp. 270-83) and *BHĀSKARA (pp. 299-327).

Happily Professor Pingree has transliterated the substantives in a pronouncing manner as Kaśamīra (p. 270), Ṭihari (Tehri) and Gaḍhavalā (Garhwal) (p. 393). Likewise the reader expects the present treatment in other substantives as Dharvad (p. 281), Marwāri (p. 446).

This is a welcome addition to the bibliographical world in widening the horizon of this discipline and popularizing the study to orient the research scholars interested in exact sciences.

SHYAM LAL

The History and Principles of Vedic Interpretation by
Ram Gopal. Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1983,
pp. 208. Rs. 90/-.

As every mountaineer worth name dreams of scaling the highest peak, say the Mt. Everest so was ambition of every Indologist more specifically of a Sanskritist in Europe of the 19th century. The highest goal at a time came to be identified with understanding of the true spirit working behind the Vedic seers and enfolding the meaning of the Ṛgvedic verses as visioned by them. Instruments leading to that goal were of course the deductive method applied to internal evidence and data yielded by the study of cognate Indo-European languages.

Did this process start with the discovery of Sanskrit language or search for the origin of German Language? The author does not venture surmises. He believes in hard and irrefutable facts. He is content with the opening statement — the Vedas are undoubtedly the earliest books of mankind and the sacred books of the Hindus and occupy a unique position in the world literature.

He deals with the toil and zeal of European (accidentally also of Americans — Bloomfield and Whitney) scholars in the eighth and ninth Chapters (pp. 140-188) and quotes Max Müller, Roth, Bergaigne etc. liberally. The author allows these stalwarts of that bygone era to settle score among themselves and rarely intervenes with a verdict of his own. A picture that gets drawn thereby successfully captures the essence of romance that was lived by scholars belonging to the establishment and others fighting against it.

Critical editions, translations, indices and Wörterbücher (Dictionaries) were tests of one's scholarly strength and calibre. Max Müller ranks high with his judgement of translations without *pieces justificatives* as poor attempts. Metrical rendering by Griffith and Grassman remains an excuse for inaccurate translations. Attempts of Ludwig are good but donot stand the scrutiny of critical and objective scholarship. Grassmann's translation of the ṚV differs with his meaning given in (his) dictionary. Roth feels helpless declaring that "a translation of the ṚV. is a task for the next century (20th !)".

Pischel and Geldner score ahead of all with their work *Vedische Studien*.

Together with Roth, Oldenberg and Grassmann they (Pischel and Geldner) form a kind of establishment against whose hegemony in the field of vedic studies Bergaigne raises a desperate cry. He refers to them as a powerful lobby on the other side of the Rhine who would not allow the labour of single individuals get its due reward in the form of recognition. One is reminded of Goldstücker "the Pāṇinian scholar" suffering similar fate.

Roth furrows a new track taking Grassmann as his ally. Roth's attempt of "los werden" from Sāyaṇa remains the clarion call of the establishment. Oldenberg responds to it but Pischel and Geldner resist. The author is full of praise for their resistance and discovers in it the scope for a systematic study of the indigenous Bhāṣyakaras and the result is the book.

For a rapid survey of the work done in the field of Vedic interpretation the author recommends a glance over the Vedic bibliographies of Renou and Dandekar. He takes upon himself to evaluate cursorily the contribution of Delbrück, Bloomfield, Jacobi, Hillebrandt, Keith, Wackernagel, Whitney, Macdonell and Arnold. Included in the galaxy of the topmost scholars of the 20th century are the names of Renou, Gonda and Esteller.

Revival of Vedic studies in India is to be traced to the renaissance feeling persisting in the country on one hand and the monumental work done by the Western scholars on the other. Swami Dayanand Saraswati is remembered for the *fresh* and *rational* interpretation of the vedas, Coomarswami for mystic and Shri Aurobindo for their esoteric interpretation.

Western scholars are in for censure because of their bias against Indian tradition while the indigenous modern scholars invite wrath for their narrow subjective approach. The former lot was arrogant and the latter has been unscientific.

The author is bold to declare "the Vedas face the most serious danger from those so called vedists, historians and philologists who seek to read their own preconceived notions into them without paying any heed to the unexceptionable principles and traditions of the Vedic interpretation," (introduction).

The boldness is commendable but it lacks discretion. What is meant by "unexceptionable principles"? Is the author veering around the stand taken by German philologists called "new grammarians" who propounded that phonetic laws (being discovered at that time, i.e. 19th century) should be without exceptions and hence unexceptionable (ausnahmslos Lautgesetze). Then it is possible only in Phonology and not in Semantics.

Take for instance the phrase स्वसुज्ञिरः (introduction). Its denotative sense would remain, irrespective of author's wishes, *literal* and entered as such in the Dictionary. Metaphorically it may mean all that relevant in a particular context (and hence not creating an erroneous impression on the minds of lay readers with regard to the moral standards of the Vedic Aryans).

Author, of course, is right in decrying mis-interpretation of the compound पृथुपर्शवः by some scholars as "Parthians and Persians".

No one would disagree with him in his exhortation "that it must be the endeavour of every interpreter of the vedas to arrive at the definite meanings intended by the Vedic seers". But how it is to be achieved is the crux of the problem and leads to controversy.

The author is at his best when assessing the contribution made by ancient *Bhāṣyakaras*. He depends upon the *Nirukta* for providing him clues leading to classification of Chapters of his book into *Yajñika* (III), *Āitiḥāsika* (IV), *Nairukta* (V), *Parivrājaka* and *Naidāna* (VI) schools of Vedic interpretation. But the irony of the fate is that all the schools put together cannot achieve the above goal set before the interpreter of the Vedas. They can at the most illumine for a translator or Lexicographer the approaches to the summit, or else equip him with the knowledge of hurdles and pitfalls in the way and bridges over them, but cannot obtain him the summum bonum.

The author is conscious of shortcomings of all these approaches. "If the ritual application (*yajñika* school) contributed a good deal in preserving the Vedic texts, it also became a hindrance in the correct and unbiased interpretation of the Vedas.

Legends (*aitihāsika* school) supposed to be narrated in the Vedas owed their origin to the misinterpretation of allegories underlying the mantras,

Etymologization (*nairukta* school) degenerated, at times, into a game of guessing ad infinitum. Mystic (*parivrājaka* school) explanations offered in the Brāhmaṇas suffered from inconsistency and the *naidāna* system (explaining genesis of Vedic verses) did not survive."

Approaches (or perhaps principles) having failed, all that remains is the history of interpretation and the author devotes as many as nine chapters out of ten to it.

Historically Yāska is the first Bhāṣyakāra *par excellence* and Sāyaṇa the last. In between come other Bhāṣyakāras. Among them Skandasvāmin is the oldest. It is indeed a matter of deep regret that his commentary as available today is incomplete. Udgītha, his collaborator, seems to have covered only the tenth Maṇḍala of the ṚV. *Bhaṣyas* of Nārāyaṇa, Bhavasvāmin and Guha (or Rāha) deva do not survive and those of Madhvācārya and Ātmānanda deal with only a fraction of the ṚV. Bharatasvāmin wrote a commentary on the Sāmaveda and Uvaṭa on the Vājasaneyi Samhitā.

It is Veṅkaṭamādhava whose complete *bhaṣya* on ṚV. stands retrieved. Outstanding features of his *bhaṣya* are, steering clear of ritual rigmarole, brevity in expression and linguistic clarity.

A full Chapter (namely the fifth) is devoted to Yāska and he is evaluated more as an etymologist than a *bhaṣyakāra*. One passes through lanes and bylanes of *labyrinth*, earlier traversed by Roth, Sköld, Sarup, Rajwade and Siddheshwar Verma and comes out of it no more wise than before (the entry). In other chapters we find controversy on Kautsa resolved, date of Durgācārya discussed and commentary by Skanda-Maheśvara proved anterior to that by Durga. The author, however, takes into account only the first version of Sarup on Durga's date and not the revised one. Sarup's well known argument based on the word *dīnāra* (as found in Durga's commentary) is overlooked.

No separate chapter is devoted to Sāyaṇa even though —“owing to his unique position in the history of Vedic exegesis”— he fully deserved it.

The author quotes Max Müller verbatim in his appreciation and takes upon himself the task of pointing out his short-comings, which are, arbitrary and fanciful interpretations and lack of consistency. He

is further of the opinion that the entire commentary is not from the pen of a single commentator because of interpretations presenting contradictory irreconcilable views.

Sāyaṇa has remained a whipping boy for the Western and Indian scholars (especially those reared in the Arya-Samaj tradition) and would remain so till the highest goal is reached.

Among post Sāyaṇa Bhāṣyakāras, 16 in all, Mudgala prepared a summary of Sāyaṇa's ṚV. Bhāṣya and Mahīdhara wrote a commentary on the Mādhyamīna Samhitā of the Śukla Yajurveda.

After churning the ocean of commentaries there emerge forth 14 gems called principles (of interpretation). Their glitter is sufficient only to catch the eye of an on-looker but they are collectively not that resplendent as to dispell darkness enveloping the surrounding in entirety¹.

Discussion on these principles has been too general and a few cannot be termed as principles at all, e.g. numbers first and eighth. Treatment of a few others lacks deep insight into the problem, i.e. numbers 3, 4, 9 and 10.

Take for instance the principle No. 9 "the accent". The real problem that accent poses is not that simple as understanding the difference between āpas (action) and apās (active) or distinguishing classroom examples of *tatpuruṣa* and *bahuvrīhi* from each other. It is the phenomenon of accent shift reflecting phonological, morphological and semantic changes as undergone by a lexeme and the accent instead of providing help to interpret it, becoming a problem in itself (cf. Kurilowicz : *L' accentuation des langues Indo-Européennes*, 1958, Kraków).

As a consequence Hoshiarpur school of Vedists (cf. Vedic Concordance of Acharya Vishvabandhu) took the appearance as real

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1. The intellectual equipment of an interpreter.
 2. Authorship and genesis of Vedic hymns.
 3. Ritual application of Mantras.
 4. Metre.
 5. Devatā (Subject matter).
 6. Padapāṭha.
 7. Grammatical explanation of words.
 8. The meaning of words.
 9. Accent.
 10. Etymology.
 11. Metaphors.
 12. Unattached epithets.
 13. Secondary sense of words.
 14. The Veda as its own interpreter.

and remained steadfast on the issue of accent, while Poona school realising perhaps the complicated nature of accent shift, paid often a lip service to it. The phenomenon of accent shift has to be studied in historical perspective and every shift accounted for. Then alone would this tool become helpful in yielding desired results, otherwise depending upon accent, as it appears, may prove controversial if not misleading.

With regard to principle No. 10, advice of the author ("the etymology of a word should be attempted within the four corners of the Vedic idiom, usage and thought") appears to be prescriptive. One should be free to look beyond the Sanskrit sources ; after all there have been a number of loan words in it, the Vedic phase being no exception.

The author minces no words, however, in portraying the gigantic nature of the challenge lying ahead of scholar-heroes advancing towards the highest goal [set for the 20th century (by Roth !), which could be an authentic translation or dictionary of the Vedas or both]. He clearly states that "the subject of Vedic interpretation is not meant for amateurs, casual readers of the modern translations of the Vedas, nor should it be used as a ploy by politicians, demagogues or partisan preachers. Scholars having a thorough grounding in the exegetical, grammatical, religious, cultural, philological, lexicographical, mythological and historical studies connected with the vast Vedic and post Vedic literature only need to venture in undertaking the task".

To a scholar who has equipped himself on the aforesaid lines and thereby imbibed the spirit of the Vedas—the Vedas would be their own interpreters.

The book is a must for every postgraduate student of the Veda group and the research scholar working in the field of Vedic language and literature.

MANTRINI PRASAD

India of Vedic Kalpasūtras by Ram Gopal. First Edition : Delhi 1959 ; pp. 487 ; reprint : Delhi, 1983, Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 591. Rs. 125/-.

Certain topics for research such as 'Caste' in Sociology, 'Place names' in Archaeology, 'Frequency counting of Phonemes' in Linguistics and 'Cultural History of a particular epoch' in Indology used to be considered *second rate* in the scholarly world of the bygone decades of fifties and sixties. Sometimes these very topics received an excellent treatment in the hands of talented scholars and the work produced became instantly monumental. Such has been the case with the author who came to be known by his maiden work as 'Professor Ram Gopal of India of Vedic-Kalpasūtra-fame'.

The present edition brought out by Motilal Banarsidass is a reprint of the first edition with two extra chapters XXIII and XXIV added to on the Śrauta Sūtras and Sacrifices and thereby the author wipes out the onus that had fallen on him because of the word *Kalpasūtra* in the title. The work has earlier been reviewed by Acharya Vishva Bandhu in the VII-2, pp. 185-188 (March 1964), who had expressed the opinion that since there is no chapter devoted to the Śrauta Sūtras — the work should rather have been designated as "India of Gṛhya and Dharma Sūtras, the word 'Vedic' being left out as being understood".

The work has basically been written for students of Sanskrit Literature. Obviously much that is discussed about tenor and style of texts, their mutual relationship, their relative chronology and authorship might not interest students and lovers of Indology belonging to other disciplines.

Opinion of Winternitz is quoted in the Preface to highlight the importance of such a study. "The numerous parallels in the manners and customs of other Indo-European peoples, which have been discovered long ago, with the usages described in the Gṛhyasūtras make these documents all the more important. In particular the comparison of the Greek, Roman, Teutonic and Slavonic marriage customs with rules contained in the Gṛhyasūtras, has shown that the relationships of the Indo-European peoples is not limited to language, but that these peoples, related in language have also preserved common features from prehistoric times in their manners and customs."

Reference is made to "Indische Studien" for drawing IE parallels *vis-à-vis* usages prevalent at the time of Sūtra literature. We come to know that the custom of the pair circumambulating the fire at the wedding, dates from early times, for Romans had it (p. 235). *Pāṇigrahaṇa* had a striking resemblance with a rite *dextrarum junctio* of the early Romans (p. 231 ; Weber). Untying the bride's locks of hair was again similar to a marriage custom of Romans (p. 236 ; Haas). *Saptapadī* appears to be of Indo-Germanic Origin (p. 237 : Kuhn) and 'Totenhochzeit' of Vaikhānasa Gṛhyasūtra has its parallel among the Bulgarians of Volga (p. 376 ; Schrader).

The author measures swords with such celebrities as Max Müller, Oldenberg, Bühler, Weber and Keith, picking up occasionally an ally amongst Hillebrandt, Caland, Knauer and Kane.

The approach by and large remains objective except perhaps in a case or two where the author derives a subjective type of satisfaction in finding his ideas of ideal society affirmed by the literary evidence, (cf. "Family life and Position of women", Chapter XX).

Main feature of the Second Edition has been a detailed survey of the extant Śrauta Sūtras and discussion on Śrauta sacrifices, the study of which would prove of immense help to students of liturgical science. Only pity is that there is too little of India in these chapters, and the political map of modern India on the cover appears to be an instance of anachronism.

Leaving aside these minor drawbacks opinion of the Late Prof. Louis Renou stands fully vindicated that it is a work of reference that completes the Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith which does not cover the Kalpasūtras.

MANTRINI PRASAD

The Cāturmāsya Sacrifices : with special reference to the Hiranyakeśi Śrautasūtra ; by V. V. Bhide. Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona, 1979, pp. viii+267.

The book under review is a Ph. D. thesis submitted to the University of Poona in 1969 under the supervision of Dr. R. N. Dandekar. Dr. Bhide has been fortunate enough to be a son of an *āhitagni*, and in this capacity he has been participating in the performance of different Śrauta sacrifices with his father. Moreover, he had continuously worked for about 15 years in the project of preparing an Encyclopaedia of Śrauta rituals undertaken by the Vedic Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Pune, under the guidance of Dr. C. G. Kashikar, whose erudition in the field of Śrauta literature is well known. Therefore, it is natural that the work under review would be a first class research work in the field of Śrauta rituals.

The work is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter deals with the critical edition of the text of the fifth *adhyāya* (= *praśna*) of the Hiranyakeśi Śrautasūtra (HŚrS) in which the Cāturmāsya sacrifices have been discussed. The critically edited text of *adhyāya* five of the HŚrS is prefixed with an introduction discussing about the school of Hiranyakeśi Sūtra (HS), manuscript-material, printed editions of the HS, the arrangement of the Sūtra-text, the commentaries, citations quoted by the commentators, and is suffixed with an Appendix in three parts with citations given by Mahādeva and Vañceśvara in their commentaries on *adhyāya* V of the HŚrS, and by Gopīnātha in his *Caturmasyaprayogendu*. There are three Indices of mantras, important words and authorities cited by the aforesaid commentators on *adhyāya* V of the HŚrS.

In the first section of the introduction the author has discussed the nomenclature of the HS. It is often seen that a Sūtra-text has been named after its author as for instance the Baudhāyana Sūtra, Āpastamba Sūtra etc. The HS is also known as Satyāṣṭha Sūtra. Bhide has cited ample evidences to show that Hiranyakeśi is the name of the recension to which this Sūtra belongs, and the Satyāṣṭha

is the name of the author of this Sūtra text. He prefers to call the text as the HS rather than the Satyāśāḍha Sūtra (SS). As to why the text is not to be called SS, even though it has been composed by Satyāśāḍha, the author says : "Satyāśāḍha who belonged to the Hiranyakeśi recension composed the entire Kalpasūtra for his own recension and this Kalpasūtra is known as the HS. But in the course of long period, the Hiranyakeśi recension disappeared and only the Sūtra text was preserved through the oral tradition (p. 3)". We cannot agree with the view of the author regarding the nomenclature of the text as proposed by him. The question is when all the Sūtra texts of the period are named after the authors why the text in question be not called Satyāśāḍha Sūtra after the name of its author? In my opinion Satyāśāḍha Hiranyakeśi Sūtra is the right name as found mentioned at the end of every *Paṭala* and *adhyāya* of the printed edition of the text. No doubt, the word Hiranyakeśi as the name of the recension should be preserved, but along with it the word Satyāśāḍha, i.e. the name of the author, should also be retained. It is a different matter whether one, for brevity sake, calls it Satyāśāḍha Sūtra or Hiranyakeśi Sūtra.

Splitting of the Sūtras in Sūtra texts is a very difficult task. No uniform principle has either been laid down by the Sūtrakāras themselves or followed by the later commentators. That is why the numbering of Sūtras varies from one edition to another, or from one commentator to another. In the present edition of the fifth chapter of the HŚrS certain discrepancies have crept in while splitting up the Sūtras. These discrepancies are of two types :—

1. Sūtras wrongly split up :—

- (a) अग्नेरावृताग्निं प्रणीय ॥१॥ अग्न्यायतन ऊर्णस्तुकां निधायान्नि प्रतिष्ठाप्य ॥३॥
अग्नीन्वाधायामिक्षायै वैश्वदेव्यै सायंदोहाय वत्सानपाकरोति ॥७॥
[HŚrS V.1, 5-7] (p. 17). These three Sūtras should form one complete Sūtra as Vāñcheśvara has done.

- (b) श्वोभूते पौर्णमास्येष्ट्वोदवसायानुदवसाय वा [V. 3.14] (p. 21) should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. प्रसूता...शिरोऽभ्युनक्ति [V.3.15].

- (c) ऋतमेव...°भिवर्तये इति त्रेण्या शलत्येक्षुशलाकया वा केशान् विनायन् [V. 3.16] (pp. 21-22) should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. लौहेन...निवर्तयति [V. 3.17].
- (d) ऐन्द्राग्नपर्यन्तैः प्रचरिते [v. 6.17] (p. 27) should form as the part of the following Sūtra, viz. प्रतिप्रस्थाता...शमीपर्णकरीराणि [v. 6.18].
- (e) तूष्णीमेव परेत्य [V. 7.10] (p. 28) should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. वारुणस्य...प्रतिपादयति [V. 7.11].
- (f) श्रुतस्य हविषः शरमुद्धृत्य प्रज्ञातं निधाय [V. 9.3] (p. 30) should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. पान्नीषूपस्तीर्य...निदधाति [V. 9.3-4].
- (g) अग्निमृष्टं दर्व्युदायुवनमवधाय [V. 9.5] (p. 30) should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. अभिघार्यो...सादयति [V. 9.6].
- (h) ओढासुदेवतास्वग्निमुपवाज्याज्यभागाभ्यां प्रचर्य [V. 9.7] (p. 30) should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. जुह्वामुपस्तीर्य...संप्रेष्यति [V. 9.8].
- (i) दर्व्यामुपस्तीर्य...अभिघार्य [V. 9.19] (p. 31) should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. पूर्णां दर्वि...जुहोति [V. 9.20].
- (j) उद्धननान्तं कृत्वा...द्वारं कृत्वा [V. 11.6] (p. 33) should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. दक्षिणाग्नेरङ्गारानाहुत्य...आदधाति [V. 11.7].
- (k) प्रोक्षणीरभिमन्त्र्य...अपिसृज्य [V. 12.7] (pp. 34-35) should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. अग्नेषु...पर्येति [V. 12.8].
- (l) यत् प्रागलङ्कारणात्...सक्तून् कृत्वा [V. 12.13] (p. 35) should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. अभिवान्यवत्सायै...मन्थमुपमन्थति [V. 12.14].
- (m) ताभ्यां प्रचर्य [V. 13.5] (p. 37) should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. विस्रस्य...कुर्वते [V. 13.6].
- (n) मन्थमवघ्राणार्थं...संकलिष्य [V. 14.5] (p. 39) should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. एतत्ते तत इति...निदधाति [V. 14.6].
- (o) चतुष्पथ...संपरिस्तीर्य [V. 15.11] (pp. 42-43), should form as a part of the following Sūtra, viz. मरुमेन...इति जुहोति [V. 15.12].

2. Sūtras wrongly combined :—

- (a) 'मधवे स्वाहा माधवाय स्वाहा' इति वा [V. 2.17] (p. 20) being an optional injunction should form as a separate Sūtra.
- (b) सर्वं वा वापयते [V. 3.18] (p. 22) should form as a separate Sūtra.
- (c) तथा दक्षिणे [V. 4.4] (p. 22) should form as a separate Sūtra.
- (d) द्विवद्ब्रह्मानुजानाति [V. 4.9.] (p. 23) should form as a separate Sūtra.
- (e) साकं रश्मिभिः प्रचरन्तीत्येकेषाम् [V. 8. 2 ; 9. 22] (p. 28, 31) should form as a separate Sūtra.
- (f) न बहिरनुप्रहरतीत्येकेषाम् [V. 8.3] (Pp. 28) should form as a separate Sūtra.
- (g) अयजुष्केण वत्सानपाकरोतीत्येकेषाम् [V. 8.4] (p. 29) should form as a separate Sūtra.
- (h) यजुस्तृतेनैतेन पयसा श्रपयतीत्येकेषाम् [V. 8.11] (p. 29) should form as a separate Sūtra.
- (i) मन्थादिडामवद्यतीत्येकेषाम् [V. 14.4] (p. 39) should form as a separate Sūtra.
- (j) न पत्नीः संयाजयन्ति, न समिष्टयजुर्जुहोति and सर्वमन्यत् क्रियते should form three separate Sūtras and not one as given [V. 14.26] (p. 41).

The second chapter deals with the account of the *Caturmāsyā* sacrifices as given in the Vedic texts. It is to be pointed out that the author has grouped the relevant texts in three classes for the treatment of the subject, TS, TBr, MS, KS (Kap.S mostly identical with KS) forming the first group, ŚBr the second group and the ŚāṅkhBr and the GBr the third group.

The third chapter deals with the critical and comparative study of the *Caturmāsyā* sacrifices as represented in the Śrautasūtras. HŚrS has been taken as the base for the purpose and its ritualistic procedures

on the *Caturmāsyā* compared with those of the Baudh ŚrS, BhārŚrS, ĀpŚrS, VaikhŚrS, VādhŚrS, MānŚrS, KātŚrS, ĀśvŚrS, ŚāṅkhŚrS and the LātŚrS. The author has also discussed the comparative style of the Śrautasūtras and their relation with the HŚrS. In this connection, it is to be pointed out that some of the author's observations made about the similarities and the differences between the HŚrS and the VādhŚrS regarding the *Caturmāsyā* sacrifices are not acceptable. For example, on page 135 the author writes : 'The VādhŚrS prescribes the *Anvārambhaṇīyeṣṭi* in connection with the *Caturmāsyā* sacrifices which consists of three oblations, namely, a sacrificial cake on twelve potsherds for Prajāpati, cooked rice for Parjanya, and a sacrificial cake on three potsherds for Viṣṇu'. This statement of the author is not correct, for the VādhŚrS prescribes five oblations (not three) to be offered to different deities in the *Anvārambhaṇīyeṣṭi* : a sacrificial cake on twelve potsherds for Prajāpati, cooked rice for Seasons, a sacrificial cake on twelve potsherds for Vaiśvānara, cooked rice for Parjanya, a sacrificial cake on three potsherds for Viṣṇu, as is evident from the following text of the VādhŚrS describing the *Anvārambhaṇīyeṣṭi* :—

यज्ञायुधानि सः साद्यापः प्रणीया[न्वा]रम्भणीयामिष्टि निर्वपति—प्राजापर्यं
द्वादशकपालम् [ऋतव्यं चरुं, वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालं] पार्जन्यं चरुं वैष्णवं त्रिकपालम्
॥ १९ ॥ 'ऋतुभ्योऽनुब्रूहि' इत्याहोपस्तृणानोऽवद्यन् ॥ २७ ॥ 'ग्रीष्मो हेमन्तः' इत्यन्वाह
॥ २८ ॥ 'इदुवत्सराय' इति यजति ॥ २९ ॥ वषट्कृते जुहोति ॥ ३० ॥ 'वैश्वानरायानुब्रूहि' इत्याहोपस्तृणानोऽवद्यन् ॥ ३१ ॥ 'वैश्वानराय पृथुपाजसे' इत्यन्वाह ।
°विपो रत्ना विधन्त धरुणेषु गातवे । अग्निहि देवाँ अमृतो दुवस्यत्यथा धर्माणि सन्ता न
ह्रुदुषत्' इति ॥ ३२ ॥ 'त्वमग्ने' इति यजति । °शोचिषा शोशुचान आ रोदसी अपृणा
जायमानः । त्वं देवाँ अभिशास्तेरमुञ्चो वैश्वानर जातवेदो महित्वा' इति ॥ ३३ ॥ ...
सन्तिष्ठतेऽन्वारम्भणीयेष्टिः ॥ ४७ ॥ (VādhŚrS, IV. 1. 19-46)

The fourth chapter deals with the Śrautasūtra and the *Prayoga*. The author is of the view that some sorts of *Prayogas* must have been in vogue even before the compilation of the Śrautasūtras proper. The arguments put forward in support of the thesis are very sound and hence convincing. The fifth chapter deals with a detailed discussion about the various types of the *Caturmāsyā* sacrifices. The Śunāsīriya Parvan forms the subject matter of the sixth chapter. The seventh chapter, designated as miscellaneous, deals with various miscellaneous

topics such as—Elements of magic in the *Caturmāsyā* sacrifices, the importance of the hair-cutting rite, woman in the *Caturmāsyā* sacrifices, etc. Exegetical notes on certain peculiar words enhance the utility of the work. The text of the *Cāturmāsyā Prayoga* composed by Mahādeva Somayājīn has been given in the Appendix.

The work is very important for it gives a critical and comparative study of the *Cāturmāsyā* sacrifices as detailed in the entire range of Vedic literature. It paves the way for further researches in Vedic sacrifices.

B. B. CHAUBEY

The Chāndogya Upaniṣad and the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa :
A Comparative Study by S. M. Bhatkhande. University of
Bombay, 1982, pp. xvi+272. Price Rs. 75/-.

The work under review is a comparative study of the Upaniṣads mainly the Chāndogya and the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa, an approved doctoral thesis of the author submitted to the University of Bombay in 1975. The main aim of the author is to examine critically Dr. Belvalkar's theory on the issue of 'Chāndogya-Brahmasūtras' and to investigate the upaniṣadic background of the sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa.

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar while delivering Gopal Basu Malik lectures on the Vedānta Philosophy at Calcutta University in 1925 made a statement in his lecture IV (Vedānta in the Brāhmasūtras) that the much of the text discussed in the extant Brahmasūtras comes from the Chāndogyopaniṣad. He further said that there is nothing improbable in the 'Chāndogya-Brahmasūtras' having in fact formed the original nucleus of the present sūtras and been incorporated therein. Belvalkar has given other arguments also in support of the contention.

Dr. Bhatkhande has criticised Belvalkar's theory and tried to show that the other Upaniṣads as sources had no less important part to play than the Chāndogya in providing the basis for Bādarāyaṇa's Brahmasūtras.

The first two chapters of this work give the contents of the Chāndogyopniṣad and the Brahmasūtras alongwith their English translations. Chapter III, deals with a comparative study of the sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa and the Upaniṣads. In this chapter the author has analysed some essential philosophical elements like—*brahman*, *ātman*, *jagat*, *mukti* etc. to assess how much Chāndogyopaniṣad provided for the basis for Bādarāyaṇa to evolve a system, and he has arrived at the conclusion that Bādrāyaṇa's field of study is much wider than that of the Chāndogyopaniṣad.

In the IV chapter the author has shown that the non-Chāndogya sources are vitally connected with the philosophical thought of the sūtras and are not less important. By studying some important

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aspects like —(I) the upaniṣadic background, (II) the scope and concept of śāstra of Bādarāyaṇa (III) the terminology of Bādarāyaṇa, (IV) analogies and the transparent sūtras, conclusion is not difficult to reach that the *sūtrakara* never intended to restrict himself to any particular text.

The emphasis throughout the work has been on Belvalkar's views regarding the existence of 'Chāndogya-Brahmasūtras'. The author has arranged and analysed the material under different levels in a statistical way and shown that Belvalkar's theory of 'Chāndogya-Brahmasūtras' is only a conjecture.

RAJENDRA K. SHARMA

History of Viśiṣṭādvaita Literature by V. K. S. N. Raghavan, Ajanta Publications (India), Malkaganj, Delhi-7, 1979, pp. xx+132 Rs. 45 (\$ 9).

Earnest need to preserve the past and contemporary creative writings of Sanskrit scholars is being felt by the orientalist. Much work is to be done in this field and the remote corners of Sanskrit learning are waiting for exploration. Keeping this in mind, the present work on Viśiṣṭādvaita literature is an admirable attempt.

The author has been associated with the project of Catalogus Catalogorum, and has surveyed a vast field of philosophy of Rāmānuja school. The problem that often arises while dealing with history of the sectarian literature, is that one faces difficulty in assessing the importance and the place of the innumerable small tracts mostly written with sectarian narrowness. The educated followers take interest insistently in propagating their school. On zigzag pathways of sectarian literature Dr. Raghavan has steered clear and used his methodology quite ably in determining the place and value of them. A considerable work has been done by the modern researchers and the devoted institutions in India and abroad, in the field and philosophy of Rāmānuja school of Vedānta. Rudolf Otto, J. A. B. Van Buitenen, S. N. Dasgupta, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Satyavrata Singh, P. N. Srinivasachari and few others have contributed critical studies in the form of books and papers on Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. Yet the historical treatment of ancient, medieval and modern works and their authors has been

presented by Dr. Raghavan for the first time. No doubt for west, Śaṅkara is thought to be the sole propounder of the true spirit of Vedānta apparent in Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras. Rudolf Otto, the student of comparative mysticism of Śaṅkara and Meister Eckhart in his famous work 'Mysticism: East and West', had their first introduction to Rāmānuja school through some sectarian preceptor. That school, the latter found, as the 'most astonishing' competitor to be taken seriously, in his book 'India's Religion of Grace and Christianity'. This school of Vedānta has become an inspiration for the later monistic thinkers who could not accept *Mayavada* of Śaṅkara and professed metaphysical trinity and mystical love and devotion to the personal God as the means to attain Salvation.

Though Dr. Raghavan has concentrated on the chronological surveying of the creative talent of the Sect, yet a brief summary of philosophical fundamentals of Viśiṣṭādvaita has been provided for a reader in the preface of the book, by reproducing his own article, 'The Metaphysical Tenets of Viśiṣṭādvaita' published elsewhere.

The division of chapters gives a clear idea of project and scientific presentation of the available material. The eight chapters are presented under the titles—'Predecessors of Rāmānuja', 'Śrī Rāmānuja', 'Immediate Successors of Rāmānuja', 'Śrī Vedāntadeśika', 'Successors of Vedāntadeśika', 'Modern Writers' and finally, 'Anonymous work of Viśiṣṭādvaita'. This scheme of study highlights the three main figures as Yāmunaçārya, Rāmānuja and Vedāntadeśika. Dr. Raghavan surveys all other authors of the sect in between these three pivots.

Dealing with the pre-Rāmānuja compositions Dr. Raghavan, started with the preceptors of Viśiṣṭādvaita as mentioned by Śrī Rāmānuja in *Śrībhāṣya* and other works (and also by the later propounders of the sect like Vedāntadeśika and others). He also refers to the mythological beliefs of the sect, i.e. puranic tradition of the preceptors (Bodhayana, Ṭaṅka, Dramiḍa, Guhadeva, Kapardin and Bhāruci).

In the preface Dr. Raghavan has suggested a new term, i.e. Pan-organismal Monism or Pan-synthetic Monism" replacing the popular

ones, i.e. Qualified Monism, adjectival monism and attributive monism". He also defined Viśiṣṭādvaita on the line of Vedāntadeśika as *Viśiṣṭasya viśiṣṭarūpeṇa advaitam*.

Being a Doctoral thesis (approved by University of Madras) the work is supplemented by list of abbreviations, indices of authors and works, select bibliography, footnotes in the end of a chapter and a foreword by the research supervisor Dr. Kunjunniraja.

The printing of the book is upto the mark.

KRISHNA MURARI SHARMA

Wisdom of Vedanta by H. L. Sharma. GDK Publications, Chawri Bazar, Delhi-110006, 1981, pp ixv+140. Rs. 45/-.

Being a specialist in Psychotherapy and Psychoaesthetics and Yoga Psychology Dr. H. L. Sharma, the author of the present book aims at presenting Vedānta in the light of modern technology and scientific achievements.

The book, *Wisdom of Vedānta*, is a compilation of the author's fifteen essays and most of them appeared in 'Vedānta : East and West', London. Before entering the subject, Dr. Sharma talks 'to the Reader' so as to clear the notion about Vedānta and to introduce his own practical approach to it.

The very significance of Dr. Sharma's new treatment of Vedānta is its pragmatic and realistic approach. From the very beginning he seems to emphasize upon one's own case-history, no matter one may belong to any sphere of life. He suggests one-hour meditation and recommends self-perception in context of flow of events under the purposive will of Divine. The same thing he proposes in 'Vedānta—A programme' (12th chapter). The author suggests Vedāntic circles to adopt scientific and servicing attitude and to establish the new Vedānta Clinics and Āśramas to train people for purposeful living with health and real wealth of peace and harmony.

In short, like Swami Sivanand and other neo-vedantin monks, Dr. Sharma establishes Vedānta in our daily life. To quote his own words—'Live for a day the Vedānta way, and its truth becomes evident. It must show in better interpersonal relationship and

highest motivation of life that can move man to the highest efforts. What more would a man want for fruitful and full living ?—and this helps understanding Vedānta's cash-value in modern light of Science and metaphysical thought. Psychological terms defining and interpreting the traditional concepts of Vedānta are interesting and praiseworthy. The author is successful in it. His language and presentation are superb and his system-building is thought-provoking. The printing of the book is fine.

KRISHNA MURARI SHARMA

Wall Paintings of Rajasthan, by Y. K. Shukla. Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1980, pp. 31 ; 54 illustrations. Price Rs. 66/-.

Much has been written on the Rajasthan paintings during the past many years. But the wall paintings of Rajasthan could attract attention of few scholars due to reasons unknown. The present work is perhaps the first attempt on this topic for which the author deserves congratulations.

It deals with the Wall paintings of four places in Rajasthan namely, Pundarikji's Haveli — Jaipur school of mural painting (c. mid eighteenth century A.D.), Shri Devata Shridhar's Haveli in Kota — Kota school of mural painting (c. eighteenth to the middle of nineteenth century A. D.), Gatta — Jaipur school of painting (c. mid-eighteenth century A.D.), and Nagaur Fort (c. A.D. seven-teenth to eighteenth century). The specimens, reproduced and described (pp. 1-20) by the author provide a glimpse of the wall paintings of the region. The paintings depict themes like seasons and seasonal festivals, love scenes, music parties, Kṛṣṇa Līlā episodes, Ladies pastime etc.

In addition the author has given descriptive notes of some 36 more paintings (pp. 21-30), the plates of which are not included in the present work. These notes add to the value and importance of the work.

The description, of the paintings, is simple, lucid and effective.

The linear representation of paintings prepared by the author maintains much of the rhythm for which this art is known all over the world.

HARI MITTER SHARMA

Problems in Sanskrit Grammar by Pt. Venkatesh Shastri Joshi,
Ed. by D. G. Koparkar and G. U. Thite, Dastane Ramchandra
& Co., Poona 2, 1980, pp. 164. Rs. 53/-.

The book reviewed here comprises of seventeen papers by late Pt. Venkatesh Shastri, which were read before the meetings of learned Orientalists in India and abroad on different occasions, and published in various scholarly journals. Out of nearly forty-five research articles contributed to Indology by Pt. Shastri throughout his life on different topics like grammar, linguistics, literary criticism and religion, the author has collected these seventeen papers (some in English, and others in Sanskrit) dealing with the subject of Sanskrit grammar in general and historical, phonological and morphological studies of Pāṇinian system in particular. However, this posthumous publication could come to the hands of readers on the occasion of its author's first death anniversary, nevertheless this is a fitting tribute to the sacred memory of the departed soul.

No doubt, Pāṇini and his followers do not discuss directly the problem of loan-words in Sanskrit which was exposed for the first time, in detail, by Śābarasvāmin and Kumārilabhaṭṭa who were not grammarians. But this does not mean that there is no reference to loan words in Sanskrit grammar. The author, in his paper 'Treatment of Loan-Words in Sanskrit Grammar', tries to establish that the words enumerated under the category *nipātana* are really loan-words. Hence, showing the deficiencies in the traditional explanation of *nipātana*, the author suggests that the forms, the origin of which is not found in Sanskrit roots and which could be obtained from the roots of different languages, should be treated as loan-words that have been referred to directly either in *Gaṇapāṭha* or in the *Sūtrapāṭha* of Aṣṭadhyāyī (by Pāṇini) as *nipātanās*. Through this paper the author throws light on the fact that Sanskrit exclusively belongs to Indo-European family of languages. In spite of this the words of non-Indo-European languages had started making inroads into the framework of Sanskrit, right from the Vedic period.

'Pāṇini and Pāṇiniyas on *Saṁhita*' puts forth the critical analysis of traditional and modern views regarding the observance of *Sandhi*

rules. The author stresses that the Sanskrit grammarians since the days of Pāṇini held the view that Sandhi should not be observed whereas in a normal utterance there is a pause between two words. However, the said principle is overlooked by scholars like Patañjali. The author suggests that Sandhi should be observed in writing only. In 'Pāṇini and Pāṇinīyas on *Parasavarṇa*' the author criticizes both the standards adopted by traditional and modern writers in the observance of external-Sandhi and suggests that in case of compound words as well as the prepositions and verbal forms *Parasavarṇa* Sandhi should invariably be observed, because every system of writing should be consistent with the principles of phonetics as far as possible. In '*Anusvārasya Parasavarṇaviśaye Pāṇiniḥ Pāṇinīyaśca*' the author emphatically stresses the need of *Parasavarṇa* in words like *sarvañkaṣaḥ*, *dviṣantapaḥ* etc. in contrast to modern trend of using *anusvāra* in such cases.

In two papers '*Para Vak* and Sanskrit grammar' and '*Nagesabhaṭṭaiḥ svikṛtā Para Vak*' the author proves that Pāṇini and Bhartṛhari both consider the concept of *Para Vak*.

In 'The Significance of the word *Bhaṣā* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*' the author maintains that the word *Bhaṣā* helps us to find out the fact that Pāṇini described some peculiarities of colloquial Sanskrit language of his time other than Vedic and classical Sanskrit. After going through this paper, it becomes apparent that Sanskrit was definitely a spoken language during Pāṇini's time.

In paper Nos. 8 and 10, 'Historical observations in the descriptive grammar of Pāṇini' and 'The ten predecessors mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*', the author raises his voice against the commentators of Pāṇini who believed that Pāṇini mentioned the names of Kāśyapa, Gārgya and others either to indicate option for the rules or to pay them respect. The author has traced the historical developments in Pāṇini's treatise in reference to the rules dealing with the use of prefixes. In 'Reduplicated forms treated as basic roots (*dhātu*) in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*' it is shown that Pāṇini treated the forms like *jakṣ*, *jaḡṛ* etc. as basic roots which are otherwise the reduplicated roots of $\sqrt{ghas}$ and $\sqrt{gr}$ etc.

'Even Homer Nods' contains the refutation of the fallacy of interdependence (*anyonyaśraya*) pointed out by commentators of Pāṇini in connection with the explanation of *halantyaṃ* (P. 1. 3. 3). To

avert this controversy the author suggests the device of *yogavibhaga*, the method observed even by Patañjali at so many places. In the paper 'An introduction to the last age in Pāṇini's school' the author discusses as how Pāṇini's grammar was eclipsed, at least for some time, under the influence of Kātantra system and efforts were made by later grammarians (mainly *Prakriyakaras*) to re-establish it. In this paper, a comparative study of *Prakriyākaumudī* and *Siddhantakaumudī* is also presented. The author in his paper 'Some words from the *Bhaṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottamadeva, Translated by Prof. L. Renou' discusses eight words, the meanings of which have been overlooked inadvertently by Prof. Renou. In 'A note on *Lakṣaṇa* (*rūḍha* or *nirūḍha*)' the author has categorically rejected the acceptance of *rūḍhā lakṣaṇa*. During the course of time, a particular use is generalised and the meaning becomes popular (*rūḍha*) and thus the function of *abhidha* takes place there. The author in 'A short note on the root *nīñj*' points out that the statement *nijiviji rūḍhādāvapti* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita is wrong. He also tries to show that Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita had incorporated this statement on the view put forth by Puruṣakāra and later followed by Sāyaṇa in his *Madhaviya-Dhātuvṛtti*.

In 'The word *saṅghatitha* and Pāṇini' is shed much informative light on the date of Pāṇini. On the base of words *saṅgha* and *saṅghatitha* which come in currency after Buddha, the author confirms the probable date of Pāṇini to be in the Post-Buddha period. Lastly, 'Authorship of *Laghuśabdaratna*' contains the criticism of traditional view. The author of *Laghuśabdaratna* is Hari Dikṣita, the preceptor of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa. Here the author tries to establish that it is the work of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa himself who for reason unknown assigns it to his preceptor.

The author has a deep understanding of the subject and full command over traditional material and theories built thereon. But he is not the blind follower of traditional school of interpretations as is evident from his stance and approach.

The publishers and editors deserve congratulation for bringing out this book which is well-printed with a fine get-up.

RAGHBIR SINGH

Divyasūri-Caritam by Garuḍa Vāhana Paṇḍita, with Hindi rendering by Mādhavacārya, Ed. by T. A. Sampath Kumaracharya and K. K. A. Venkatachari. Ananthacharya Research Institute, Bombay, 1978, pp. xviii, 459. Rs. 30/-.

Depicted in an ornate style, the narration of devotees and divine saints of Vaiṣṇava cult from Saroyogin to Lord Śrī Rāmaṇuja forms the basic plot of this poetical-composition. It comprises of eighteen cantos and can very well be considered as an *aitihasika-mahakāvya*. The plot has appreciably been studded with the various descriptions of places, persons and events such as Kāñcīpurī, Madhurakavi, Cola-bhūpati, marriage of Godādevī and Rāṅganātha and the war between Parakāla Sūri and Cola-king. The originality shown in knitting the various events into one indivisible whole speaks for the creativity and the poetical imagination of the poet. The plot which abounds in realism, embodies important historical facts. Fancy has done no harm to the historicity of the facts put forth in this *kāvya*-work.

A detailed analysis would show that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita, with his literary disposition and poetic acumen, has transformed monotonous portion of the plot into charming poetry. Originality blended with imagination exhibits the artistic dexterity of the poet who seems to be a philosopher and scholar at the same time. Judged from the critical point of view, this *kāvya* has much to show by way of richness in style, language, idea, depth of thought, natural use of prosody and figures of speech.

The main sentiment of this *kāvya*, which by showing futility of this world and aiming at describing *vairāgya*, is *śānta-rasa*. Other sentiments have been delineated as *aṅga-rasas*. For example, *sambhoga-śṛṅgāra* can be realized in the description of marriage of Godā and Rāṅganātha; *Vīra* and *Bībhatsa* find place in the war between Cola-king and Parakāla Sūri. The eagerness of damsels to have a glance at the God Rāṅganātha creates *adbhuta-rasa* in the mind of readers.

The fluent use of figures of speech of both kinds, i.e. *śabda* and *artha* which lend charm to the poetic beauty, testify amply to the naturalness of language employed throughout the poem.

Nature-nurturing, a widely acclaimed necessity of a *mahākāvya*, can be met with, very often, in the present *kāvya*. Seasons, gardens, fruits, rivers, towns, villages etc. all have been beautifully described. All qualities of a good style, viz. frequent use of words consisting of soft syllables in the descriptions like that of *Vasanta* and hard syllables in describing dreadful objects, propriety in the use of suitable language befitting a particular character, a deep insight in the description of pleasure and pathos, use of prosody and figures of speech that enhance the charm of *rasa*—the soul of poetry, can be found in this *kāvya*. It is no doubt that a successful endeavour has been made to depict great Vaiṣṇava saints like Rāmānujācārya. Rendering in Hindi by Paṇḍita Mādhavācārya adds importance to the present publication. The editors also deserve to be congratulated for presenting such a fine literary specimen to Sanskritists. An Addendum pertaining to the nineteenth canto, comprising a classified list of *ślokas*, makes it more useful.

The printing and get-up are fairly satisfactory and the price seems to be reasonable.

GIRISH CHANDRA OJHA

Studies in Sanskrit Sāhitya-śāstra by V. M. Kulkarni, Bhogilal Leharchand Institute of Indology, Patan ; 1983, pp. 199. Price Rs. 60/-.

So many research works on different aspects of Sanskrit literature see every year the light of the day and the book under review is a valuable addition to them.

This work is a compendium of sixteen research papers of the author published from time to time, in different periodicals and research journals. In some papers, like 'Sanskrit writers on

plagiarism'; 'Sanskrit Rhetoricians on poetic conventions', the author has successfully endeavoured to put the matter concerned, scattered in various poetical and critical works, at a single place in a critical manner. Some papers like 'The problem of *Patakāsthānaka*', and 'Bhāmaha on grammar in relation to poetry', present critical observation of the writer. In some papers like 'Abhinavabhāratī text restored', 'Abhinavabhāratī Ch. vii recovered' etc. the author tries to draw the notice of the scholars to the external sources wherein the correct text of the commentary has been preserved for centuries. Same is the case with Bhāmahavivarāṇa, fragments of which are found in Abhinavabhāratī, Kāvyaṇuśāsana of Hemacandra, Kavyakalpalatāviveka of anonymous writer and Locana of Abhinava.

Thus, the present book contains a variety of subjects discussed in the papers compiled here. They are marked with the originality of thinking and depth into the subject concerned. A curious reader after going through these papers will not be disappointed for not collecting sufficient matter to enrich his knowledge. The fifteenth paper, namely, 'The Harivijaya of Sarvasena' is also very important from the point of research. Though Sarvasena was referred to by Daṇḍin in his prologue to his *Avantisundarikathā*, he did not mention his work. Present writer brings his work *Harivijaya* to the light by quoting its various verses from different sources. But he has not discussed the point of personality and time of Sarvasena. Nor he could recognise the source of the plot of the poem through the story of bringing the tree of *Pārijāta Bhāgavata*. He surmises about the identity of Satyaka incorrectly, as the charioteer of Kṛṣṇa. Probably, Satyaka was the father of Satyaki, a chieftain of Yādavas who learnt archery from Arjuna. The name of the charioteer of Kṛṣṇa was Dārūka as is clearly mentioned in the *Bhāgavata* and *Mahābhārata*.

Titles of some papers are misleading. No doubt, some part of Abhinavabhāratī and Bhāmahavivarāṇa are preserved in Locana, Kāvyaṇuśāsana, Nāṭyadarpaṇa and Kavyakalpalatāviveka, yet even if the whole text of Abhinavabhāratī found therein is put together, the complete text of the commentary cannot be construed. Substantial portion of the work is still missing. Hence the title, 'Abhinavabhāratī text restored' is not conclusive. The book, however, is not totally without merits. The matter presented in these research papers is very interesting and useful source of

knowledge for an average student of ancient Indian lore. All the papers form the specimen of the vast knowledge of the author in the subject. He dives with an inquistive mind and sorts out many intricacies of the subject.

Printing and get-up of the book are quite attractive. Hope, it would be welcomed widely by the concerned scholars in India and abroad.

S. P. BHARDWAJ

Haravijayam of Ratnākara ; critically ed. by Dr. Goparaju Rama ; 1st part. Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad ; 1982, pp. 21 + 4 + 450.

Here is a good edition of Haravijayam *Mahakavya* by the famous Kāśmīrian poet Ratnākara of 9th century A.D. The poem contains 50 cantos in all but the edition under review is the 1st part of the *kāvya* containing merely 30 cantos. This edition is prepared on the basis of 6 manuscripts, all of different dates. Variants of text found in the manuscripts are properly shown in the footnotes. Unlike the N.S. edition of the poem, present edition does not contain the Sanskrit gloss. The editor also takes pain to give some suggestions in the form of explanatory notes in footnotes. The printing is good but not totally free from occasional misprints (निरुपलव for निरुपल्लव, p. 85, द्रुम पल्लव for द्रुमपल्लव p. 87, अप्रयिष्ट for अप्रयिष्ठ p. 207).

S. P. BHARDWAJ

Bhatṭikāvyam ; ed. by Maheshwar Anant Karandikar and Shailaja Karandikar. Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi ; 1982, pp. xxxvi + 355.

This edition of the *kāvya* actually captioned as Rāvaṇavadham with English translation is good for the general students of Sanskrit. Supplimented with a lengthy introduction, it provides a brief but sufficient data about the poet.

S. P. BHARDWAJ

Mallikāmakarandanaṭaka of Rāmacandra ; ed. by Muni Punyavijayaji, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1983, paper back, pp. 35+166. Price Rs. 30/-.

The work under review is a drama in six acts. Its writer is Rāmacandra who being a pupil of the great Jain poet Hemacandra belonging to the twelfth century A.D., seems to have flourished in the same century. This drama has been edited on the basis of a single manuscript preserved in the Pustak Bhandar of scholarly saint Muni Punyavijayaji. The subject matter of the drama is a love story from Jain mythology. The prakrit in the drama is of Ardhamagadhi character. The edition is enriched with an introduction and explanatory notes. Printing and paper used are excellent.

S. P. BHARDWAJ

Sūktiratnakoṣa of Lakṣmaṇa ; ed. by Nilanjana S. Shah, L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1982 ; pp. 12+3+70. Price Rs. 9/-.

It is a compilation of anthologies taken from the various sources not always mentioned. All the anthologies compiled herein are categorically divided subject-wise into 68 sections. This compilation is perhaps, done with the sole objective of creating humour as is evident from remarks in the colophonic verses. It is not clear from the text if the compiler himself is a composer of some of the *sūktis*. He is silent on this point. But on the whole, the collection is good and amusing.

S. P. BHARDWAJ

Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana ; ed. by K. Krishnamoorthy, 2nd edition, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1982, paper back, pp. 385.

Dhvanyāloka, the main treatise on the doctrine of *dhvani*, advent of which totally revolutionized the course of Sanskrit poetics, occupies a prominent place as a work on literary criticism. It is one of the most studied works on Sanskrit poetics. All the editions of this book, hitherto published, suffer from textual corruptions hindering the path of a researcher in understanding the text correctly. The edition under review has been prepared by K. Krishnamoorthy who has already so many works on the literary

criticism to his credit, with the sole purpose of meeting a long-standing requirement of the scholars and students of the subject. This edition is prepared with the help of six manuscripts gathered from different sources. The editor has tried his best to present the correct text in maximum. He, however, could not consult, as is clear from his own remarks, the edition prepared by Dr. Shrutikant of *Phagwara* (Panjab). The editor not only has precisely decided the correct text at places which have hitherto been controversial but has also prepared a comprehensive and scholastic English translation of the work. This edition does not contain *Locana* of Abhinavagupta. Metrical translation of the verses quoted in the original work as illustrated, is of high order and cater to the fine taste of a man of literature. Explanatory notes on the difficult points add to the utility and merit of the book. The printing and get-up of the book are attractive.

S. P. BHARDWAJ

Rasārṇavasudhākara : A Study by Dr. K. Vijayan. Aatira Publications, Trivendrum, 1981, cloth bound, pp. xii+2+224. Price Rs. 100/-, \$ 15/-.

India has been very fortunate in producing not only scholars and philosophers but also king-literateurs. Among them Shīṅgabhūpāla occupies a distinguishing place. This Andhra king ruling in the 14th century A.D., has several literary works to his credit. Among them *Rasārṇavasudhākara* is very important one. This work deals with dramaturgy representing the new school on the subject. The work under review is a critical study of the same treatise from the pen of Dr. K. Vijayan.

The author settles first the problem of the date of Shīṅga-Bhūpāla. Later on he elucidates and analyses the contents of *Rasārṇavasudhākara* critically and threadbare. He examines further the achievements and failures of the author.

I am sure, this study will satisfy the need of the scholars and students of the subject and will be appreciated by all.

Printing and get-up of the book is quiet pretty and attractive.

S. P. BHARDWAJ

The Indian Philosophy of Beauty ; (in two parts) by T. P. Ramachandran. The Dr. S. Radhakrishnan Institute for advanced study in Philosophy ; University of Madras ; pt. one, 1979, pp. xviii+104. Price Rs. 10/-. Pt. two, 1980, pp. x+152. Price Rs. 13/-.

Indian Philosophy in general takes the pleasant outlook of life. The nature of the soul *ātman* itself is held blissful *anandasvarupa*. *Ātman*, after taking the form of *Jiva* due to *Māya* and *Avidya* (ignorance) in this mundane cell, too, remains in search of pleasure which could lead him to his natural bliss. This is why he runs after worldly pursuits and after having real knowledge, seeks liberation from the bonds of birth and death. This liberation is termed *mokṣa* which in implied sense is attainment of the original blissful nature. Three aims of this mundane life *puruṣārthas*, viz. *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* are means of attaining bliss. For this very reason, a man is fascinated by beauty in person or in nature. The same tendency works behind the love for art.

Modern scholars generally use the term 'aesthetics' for beauty but this term is somewhat confounding. Because it primarily connotes the experience caused by the observation of beauty in a person or art. Hence, they treat *rasa*, *bhāva* etc. under the head 'aesthetics'.

Happily enough, the author of the book under review avoids the use of this term and instead, uses the word 'beauty' which is simpler. The first part of the book provides us with a deep and clear concept of beauty from the stand-points of different schools of Indian philosophy. Diagrams added chapterwise, make the concept lucid.

Second part deals with the process of relishment of *rasa* and *bhāva*. Theories of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa, Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta and that of *sadharaṇīkaraṇa* are reexamined under the new perspective. In this very context, the author takes up the question of importance of *dhvani* in the realm of beauty, relation of art with *dharma* and treating *bhakti* as a separate *rasa*.

The book will be appreciated by all scholars in India and abroad. It will also prove to be the most useful to the students.

S. P. BHARDWAJ

Baladeva Upādhyāya Felicitation Volume (आचार्यबलदेवोपाध्याय-
भितन्दनग्रन्थः) ; General Editor : G. C. Tripathi ; Ganganath
Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad ; clothbound,
pp. 642. Price Rs. 40/-, \$ 10/-.

Acharya Baladeva Upādhyāya occupies a prominent place among the scholars who have dedicated themselves to the cause of propagation, preservation and promotion of Sanskrit which is a precious cultural heritage of India. He is not only a veteran scholar of Sanskrit language but also a versatile writer who, apart from his teaching profession, has produced a vast literature on various branches of Sanskrit learning and Indology. Even at the advanced age of 83 he is busy with his pen. Present Felicitation Volume is a befitting tribute to such a learned devotee of Sanskrit literature. Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad, deserves hearty congratulations from all the sanskrit loving people for this venture.

The first of the three sections of the volume contains good wishes, messages, tributes, touching notes on the personality and memoirs from the dignitaries, relatives, friends, disciples and other admirers who have been in some way or the other in close contact with Acharya Upādhyāya. Most of the contributions in this section tend to bring forth the various aspects of his personality into lime light and stress up on the main factors leading to the development of his character. To this section is appended a long list of the works of the scholar.

The second section of the volume which spreads over 339 pages contains 29 research articles in English while the third section of 207 pages consists of 20 articles in Hindi and Sanskrit. The research papers of these two sections cover vast field of Indology and Sanskrit literature, beginning from Vedas to Epigraphy. Some of them are illustrated. Among the six articles on Vedic themes there is one “ऋग्वेद में अङ्गिरा” in which Dr. Kapil Dev Shastri has examined the use of the word अङ्गिरस् in the RV. as an adjective of

Agni and convincingly suggested the spiritual meanings of the words. In the article, 'Birth of Agastya and Vasiṣṭha' A. C. Swain tries to trace the gradual development of the myth regarding the birth of Agastya and Vasiṣṭha in the Vedas, Epics and Purāṇas. The author of the paper would have done well had he tried first to determine the meanings of मित्रावरुणौ, उर्वशी, अगस्त्य and वसिष्ठ in the Vedic texts. Misunderstanding of these terms has resulted in various absurd myths in the Puranas and Epics and compelled the author of the paper to remark, "the R̥gvedic legend has brought great disgrace and discredit to the character of dual divinities, Mitra and Varuṇa" (p. 41). Internal evidences of Vedic texts do not permit us to take Vedic Vasiṣṭha and Agastya as historical human personalities.

Dr. Shiv Shankar Prasad has presented a study on some vocables of the Bhāgavata in which he has pointed out peculiarity of the use of some words. His discussion is very interesting. It is, however, difficult to agree with him at every point. For example, his observation, that the word *udumbara* in the sense of 'threshold' is an innovation in Bhāgavata, is not tenable as the same is found elsewhere and is registered as such in the lexicons (vide MW). Dr. Prasad has derived the word *campakārṇa* in Bhāgavata 3. 5. 16 from the compound *campaka-varṇa* by dropping the phoneme 'v' for the sake of accuracy in metre. The examples and references cited in support are not convincing. In fact, there is an original word *arṇa* denoting a particular kind of tree which is here as the second member of the *dvandva* compound. His treatment of the word *śaundīram* (pp. 257-58) is also confusing. The word in Bhāg. 3. 8. 21 (cited on p. 258) is a noun and not an adjective. It is the compound आसन्नशौण्डीरम् that is an adjective (आसन्नं शौण्डीरम् यस्य, तम्). The word *śaundīra* is derived directly from the √शौण्डृ (गर्वे) with the primary suffix ईरन् (vide काशकृत्स्नधातुपाठव्याख्यानम् by चन्नवीर कवि). This is an adjective and means 'brave', 'arrogant' etc. From this are derived the two abstract nouns *śaundīrya* and *śaundīra* by the suffixes 'śyañ' (Pāṇ. 5.1.124) and 'añ' (Pāṇ. 5.1.130) or 'añ' (Pāṇ. 5.1.129) respectively. The derivation by Dr. Prasad (*śaundā* > *śaundā* > *śaundīryam* > *śaundīram* [p. 258]) is far-fetched and unfounded.

Dr. (Mrs.) Haripriya Misra, basing her arguments on 'new' linguistic evidences, has tried to fix Yaska's time before Pāṇini, in

8th century B. C. in which, according to her, the MIA stage had already started. Yāska, undoubtedly, belongs to pre Pāṇinian era and is universally accepted as such. However, the 'new' linguistic evidences put forth to this effect by the author do not seem to be convincing. She has missed the real meaning of the word *adhyaya* in construction *anvadyāyam*. Her stand that the root concept was not clear in the time of Yāska is also far away from the fact. Yāska mentions not only the term *dhātu* but also refers to its initial, final and penultimate phonemes. She has mistaken the primary nouns *vartati*, *vardhati* etc. (ending in the suffix *śtip* used to indicate the root) in the Yāska's Nirukta for the 3rd person singular (of present tense). Use of such substantives is not peculiar to Yāska. It is very common in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī and the works of later grammarians as well. If the sound changes noted by Yāska as quoted by the author in support of her thesis, are indicator of the beginning of the MIA stage, one will have to accept this even before the composition of RV., because these or similar examples are in fact part of the R̥gvedic language itself. Moreover, not only Yāska but Pāṇini also has termed classical language as Bhāṣā- (Pāṇ. 3. 2. 108 : भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः, Pāṇ. 6. 1. 181 : विभाषा भाषायाम्).

Dr. A. N. Pandey in his note on the word अभितः (pp. 259-62) has drawn our attention to the *vārttika* on Pāṇ. 5. 3. 9. which aims at delimiting तसिल् from अभि only when it means 'both'. Thus अभितः becomes an equivalent to उभयतः 'on both sides'. But the word is found used in several other senses also. Besides, the *vārttika* अभितः परितः° on Pāṇ. 2. 3. 2 does not allow genitive in connection with अभितः though used in literature. The author seems to acknowledge an indivisible word अभितः apart from the derived one (Pāṇ. 5. 3. 9.) signifying 'on both sides'. He has not, however, taken note of the fact that later grammarians have noticed the use of the *vibhaktis* other than prescribed by the above *vārttika* and given justification for the same (vide न्यास and भागवृत्ति on Pāṇ. 2. 3. 2).

The two articles on the philosophy of language, namely, 'Aspects of *vakyabheda*' by Dr. S. G. Moghe and 'Import of Negative Sentence According to Bhartṛhari' by Dr. M. Srimannarayana Murti are well informative. The paper entitled, 'Kālidāsa's Meghadūta' (pp. 121-28)

by S. V. Sohony is good from the point of critical appreciation. Though the suggestion of the author about getting a clue from Gāthakośa for the idea of *bhujagavalaya* in the verse 1. 60 may not be well convincing, the new interpretation of it is not less thought-provoking. However, the author, in setting aside suggestion given by V. S. Agrawala from the view point of philosophy of Śaivism and Yoga, has overlooked the deep idea visualised in the verse. Sohony is attracted more by the fine imagery in the verse than the depth of the idea lying therein. In fact, there seems no harm in accepting both meanings, for the yogic meaning is suggestive whereas the one relating to image is expressive.

Barring these things which pertain more or less to the interpretation and opinion on the subjects the volume is a fine worth collecting publication. Most of the scholars who have contributed to it are of wide repute. The board of editors has left no stone unturned to make the volume a success in every aspect. Printing and get-up are also attractive, though the former cannot be said to be free from mistakes (vide pp. 54, 147-55 footnotes). Fresh paging of each section of the volume is not convenient for reference purpose. The price of the volume is comparatively very moderate and an average reader can comfortably enrich his collection with this volume.

VIRENDRA SHARMA

NEWS AND NOTES

INTERNAL

New Director-Professor

Dr. Mantrini Prasad (formerly an Associate Professor of Linguistics, H. P. University, Simla) was appointed as Director-Professor of the Institute by the Panjab University. He took over the charge on 3.11.1983 relieving Dr. B. L. Bharatiya, Professor, Dayananda Chair for Vedic Studies, (P. U.) Chandigarh, of the additional charge.

Post converted

The post of Lecturer-cum-Curator held by Shri S. Bhaskaran Nair was converted to that of Reader-cum-Curator by the University. Shri Nair joined the post on 1.6.1983.

Assistant Director (Administration)

Shri Chanchal Kumar Gupta, M.A., took over as Assistant Director (Admn.) on 2.1.1984.

Readers appointed

Dr. Virendra Sharma successfully contested for the post of Reader in Teaching and Dr. Jai Narain for Reader in Research and joined as such on 29.6.1984.

Merit Promotion Scheme of the U. G. C. implemented

The following staff members were appointed Readers under the U. G. C. Merit Promotion Scheme :

1. Dr. B. B. Chaubey
2. Dr. Munishwar Deo
3. Dr. S. P. Bhardwaj
4. Shri Indra Datt Uniyal.

They joined as such on 29.6.1984.

Function presided

The Director of the Institute was invited to preside over the Annual Convocation Function of the Local D.A.V. College on 15.3.1984 and read the Convocation address.

Professor Gauri Shankar honoured

On 25.12.1983 Dr. Shyam Lal Dogra of the Institute inaugurated a seminar organised by the Dogri Research Institute, Jammu, to honour Professor Gauri Shankar. In his presidential address Dr. Dogra recalled the creditable service to the cause of Dogri and Sanskrit rendered by the learned Professor. In the present volume there is, incidentally, an article, 'Kapphiṇābhyudaya and its text', pp. 179-85 by Prof. Gauri Shankar which was retrieved from the old papers dumped as used.

Annual Athletic Meet

The Director inaugurated the Annual Athletic and Sports Meet of the Institute on 15.12.1983. Addressing the participants he exhorted them to inculcate spirit of sportsmanship and discipline.

Annual Sanskrit Function

The Annual Function featuring contests such as declamation, extempore speech in Sanskrit and verse-recitation was held on 24.2.1984. Professor B. N. Pandit of Jammu presided over the function and gave away prizes to the winners and runnersup.

Professor Pandit also released 'Kālidāśadarpaṇa' a research work by Dr. S. P. Bhardwaj published by the Institute under P. U. Indological Series No. 30.

Acharya Dr. Vishva Bandhu Memorial Lecturers

Dr. Fateh Singh delivered the memorial lectures instituted in the name of Acharya Dr. Vishva Bandhu. The first two lectures were delivered at P. U. Sanskrit Department, Chandigarh, and the third and final at the Institute on 29.3.1984.

Vedic Accentuation and Ritual Workshops

In order to galvanize the work of the Vedic Dictionary project undertaken by the Institute, it was envisaged that the research staff be imparted the technical know-how and training afresh. A programme of workshops was organised and the first of its kind arranged on the subject "Vedic Accent" in the month of March, 1984. A series of 16 lectures was delivered and discussion followed thereafter. The senior members of the teaching and research staff provided guidance to the participants.

Another workshop of similar type was organised in the month of October 1984 on the subject of "Vedic Rituals". All the facets of Vedic Sacrifice were discussed with a stress on the typical vocabulary of the rituals.

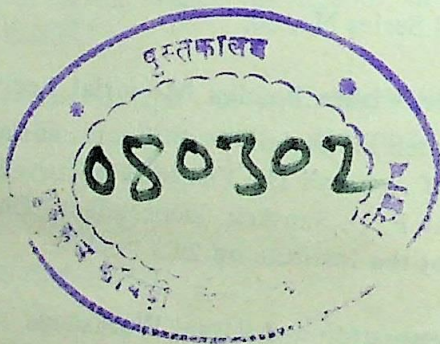
Next workshop would be arranged in the month of December 1984. Subject for discussion would be "The Vedic Mythology and its contribution towards interpreting the Vedas."

Independence day Celebrated

On the occasion of the 15th August, 1984, Acharya Prithvi Singh Azad, Senator, Panjab University, visited the Institute as a special invitee. Shri Jai Singh Major General (Retd.), happened to be the Chief Guest.

Acharya Azad hoisted the National flag, CRPF men stationed in the campus presented guard of honour and the Chief Guest addressed the students and the members of the staff.

The function ended with the National Anthem and distribution of sweets.



OBITUARY NOTE

DR. S. VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER

We feel sad to announce that one of our contributors has passed away. He was Dr. S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer whose article on 'Textual Criticism of Raghuvamśa on the basis of Aruṇagirinātha's Commentary' is appearing in the journal on pages 151-68. Dr. C. Panduranga Bhatta of Mylapore, Madras pays him his homage.

—EDITOR

Dr. S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer who passed away a few months back was born on 16.12.1919 at Attingal in Kerala. He had his post-graduate education at Travancore University in Kerala. He was awarded the Ph.D. degree for his thesis 'Prakriyāsarvasva of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa — A Critical Study'. He was the Professor of Sanskrit in Kerala University. The works edited by him include (1) Matsyāvatāra of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (2) Āśleṣa Śataka of Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita (3) Sāhityasāra of Sarveśvara (4) Dhātukāvya of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa etc. His famous work is 'Swāti Tirunāl and His music.' He was a deep scholar and a serious student of Sanskrit grammar and Karnatic music. The credit goes to this scholar for having unearthed many unknown compositions of Swāti Tirunāl from the manuscripts. Other important publications of Dr. V. S. V. Iyer are (1) Kerala Sanskrit Literature—A Bibliography (2) Popular studies on Indian cultural life (3) Technical Literature in Sanskrit etc. A large number of research articles written by him appeared in national and international Journals. As a teacher Dr. V. S. V. Iyer was sincere and straight forward. In his death Sanskrit has lost an industrious student and a dedicated scholar.

CONDOLENCE

The Nation has been dealt with a severe blow and every one feels stunned with the tragedy befallen. In this hour of critical juncture we all should stand united and strengthen the hands of our new Prime Minister.

We the staff members of the V. V. B. D. S. & D. S., Hoshiarpur, feel one with the entire nation in expressing our deep sorrow over the assassination of our beloved Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Sd./-

(Mantrini Prasad)
Director-Professor,

Sadhu Ashram,
Hoshiarpur-146 021
1-11-1984

13/11/00

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1999-2000

